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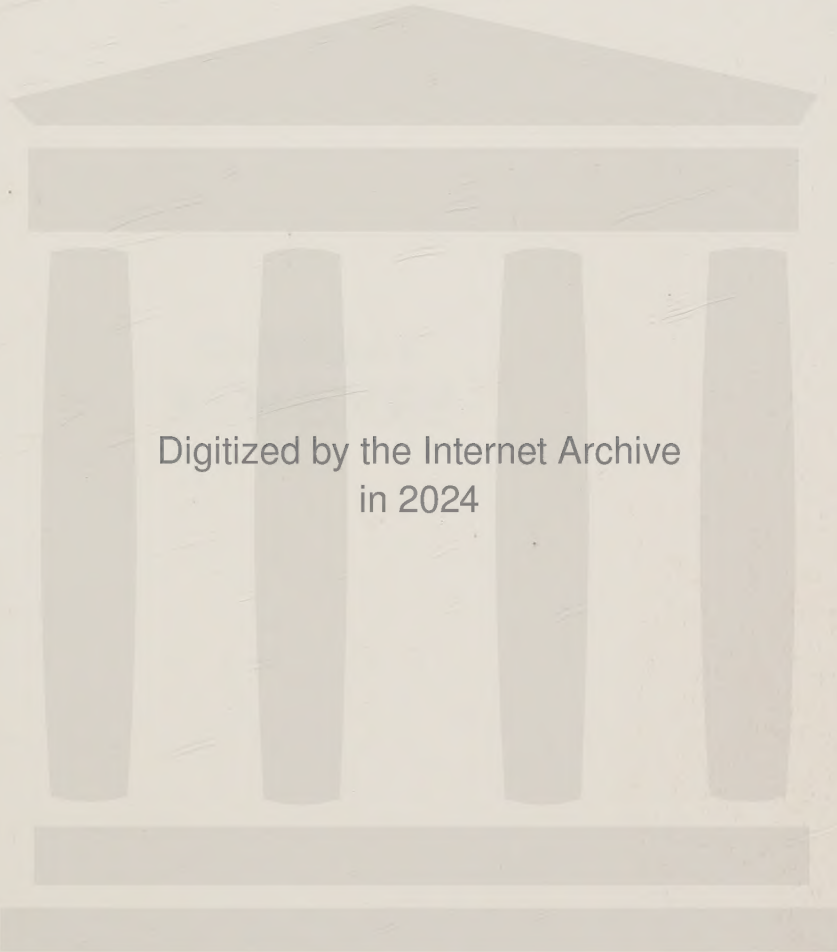
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FOR REVIEW

**CARDINAL  
XIMENES**









CARDINAL FRANCISCUS XIMENES DE CISNEROS ;  
ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO, PRIMATE OF SPAIN, GRAND-CHANCELLOR,  
INQUISITOR-GENERAL AND REGENT OF CASTILE.

*[From a scarce print in the British Museum.]*

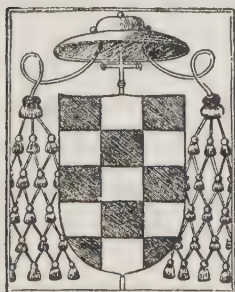
# CARDINAL XIMENES

STATESMAN, ECCLESIASTIC, SOLDIER  
AND MAN OF LETTERS  
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF  
THE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE

BY

JAMES P. R. LYELL

J.P., F.R.HIST.S.



LONDON  
**GRAFTON & CO.**  
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1917



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## PREFACE

THE year 1917 marks the quadricentennial of the death of Cardinal Ximenes, one of the makers of modern Spain, and of the commencement of the Lutheran Reformation. Luther and Ximenes were, of course, at opposite poles in religious matters, but each was responsible for epoch-making changes in their respective countries.

An attempt is made in the following pages to sketch the salient events in the history of a man, who, in so many varied spheres, dominated the life of his time.

I am indebted, in common with every other writer on the subject, for most of the facts connected with his life to the biography published in 1569 by Gomez, as there is practically no other available source of reliable information. Other material in the shape of manuscripts must undoubtedly exist in Spain, and these sources would well repay careful research and investigation by anyone to whom the necessary facilities might be afforded.

The account of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, the *magnum opus* of Cardinal Ximenes, and some of the facts collected in Chapters IV. and V., as well as the census

of existing copies, and other matter contained in the Appendices, are to some extent presented now for the first time to English readers in detailed and connected form. A good deal of this information was contained in a paper which I had the honour to read this year before the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society.

It is at the suggestion of some of my bibliographical friends that the material is now elaborated and submitted to a wider public in a more permanent form.

J. P. R. L.

HAMPSTEAD,

*September 1917*

# CONTENTS

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| INTRODUCTION . . . . .   | 1    |
| CHAPTER I  |      |
| EARLY LIFE OF XIMENES AND HIS CALL TO THE CHURCH .                                       | 7    |
| CHAPTER II   |      |
| QUEEN'S CONFESSOR AND ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO . . .   | 11   |
| CHAPTER III  |      |
| THE CONVERSION OF THE MOORS . . . . .  | 19   |
| CHAPTER IV   |      |
| THE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE . . . . .   | 24   |
| CHAPTER V  |      |
| XIMENES RESTORES THE MOZARABIC LITURGY AND HIS OTHER<br>SERVICES TO LITERATURE . . . . . | 53   |
| CHAPTER VI   |      |
| CARDINAL AND INQUISITOR-GENERAL OF CASTILE. . . . .                                      | 60   |
| <i>b</i>   | vii  |

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| CHAPTER VII   |      |
| THE CONQUEST OF ORAN . . . . .  | 69   |
| CHAPTER VIII  |      |
| REGENT OF CASTILE, AND LAST DAYS . . . . .  | 76   |
| CHAPTER IX  |      |
| THE VERDICT OF POSTERITY . . . . .  | 85   |
| APPENDICES  |      |
| <i>A.</i> CENSUS OF EXISTING COPIES OF THE COMPLUTENSIAN<br>POLYGLOT BIBLE . . . . .            | 91   |
| <i>B.</i> BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .  | 102  |
| <i>C.</i> HANDLIST OF WORKS PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY<br>DIRECTION OF CARDINAL XIMENES . . . . . | 113  |
| INDEX . . . . .   | 117  |



## LIST OF PLATES

- I. CARDINAL FRANCISCUS XIMENES DE CISNEROS; ARCH-  
BISHOP OF TOLEDO, PRIMATE OF SPAIN, GRAND-  
CHANCELLOR, INQUISITOR-GENERAL AND REGENT  
OF CASTILE . . . . . *Frontispiece*

[From a scarce print in the British Museum.]

TO FACE PAGE

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| II. RECEPTION HALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALCALÁ . . . . .  | x     |
| III. COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE—THE ARRANGEMENT<br>OF THE VERSIONS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT * . . . . . | 8     |
| IV. COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE—OLD TESTAMENT<br>COLOPHON AND PRINTER'S DEVICE * . . . . .           | 16    |
| V. COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE—NEW TESTAMENT<br>TITLE-PAGE * . . . . .                               | 24    |
| VI COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE—NEW TESTAMENT<br>COLOPHON AND PRINTER'S DEVICE * . . . . .            | 32    |
| VII. COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE—SPECIAL VARIETY OF<br>OLD TESTAMENT TITLE-PAGE . . . . .            | 40    |
| [Reproduction (reduced) from the copy in the British Museum.]   |       |
| VIII. COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE—SPECIMEN OF GREEK<br>TYPE EMPLOYED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT . . . . .  | p. 43 |
|   | ix    |

|   | TO FACE PAGE |
|---|--------------|
| IX. PORTRAIT OF XIMENES . . . . .   | 48           |
| [From the Life by Gomez, published at Alcalá in 1569.*]   |              |
| X. MOZARABIC AND ROMAN MISSALS—ORDEAL BY FIRE . . . . .   | 56           |
| [From the Mozarabic Missal printed at Angelopoli (Puebla de los Angeles), Mexico, 1770.*]   |              |
| XI "VITA ET PROCESSUS SANCTI THOME CANTUARIENSIS" . . . . .   | 64           |
| [(Life of St Thomas à Becket), printed at Salamanca by John Gysser in 1506 by direction of Cardinal Ximenes—Reproduction of Title-page.*] |              |
| XII. "SCALA SPIRITUALIS" . . . . .  | 64           |
| [By St John Climacus, printed at Toledo by P. Hagembach in 1505 by direction of Cardinal Ximenes—Reproduction of Title-page.*]            |              |
| XIII. MEDALLION PORTRAIT OF XIMENES . . . . .   | 80           |
| XIV. REPRODUCTION OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE LIFE BY GOMEZ . . . . .  | 96           |
| [Published at Alcalá in 1569.*]   |              |

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RECEPTION HALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALCALÁ.





## INTRODUCTION

IN Spain, of all the European nations, medievalism gave place to modern civilisation with a far greater effort and amid the clash of more contending forces than in any other country.

Its geographical situation, at the extreme west of Europe, is responsible to some extent for this, as it necessarily formed the final battleground upon which the old dispensation was destined to give place to the new.

The waves of reform which spread from the East, however lightly they might leave their traces on other countries, were bound, either to break or be broken, when they reached the Spanish peninsula.

Again, it is not surprising that modern developments were late in taking root when the nature of the country is considered. A country divided by mountain ranges, unpromising tablelands, and varying conditions of climate conduced to the long period of civil and guerilla warfare which lasted practically all through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries down to the middle of the fifteenth, and effectually prevented the expansion and unification of the country. In order to understand better the conditions that prevailed in Spain during the period covered by the life of Cardinal Ximenes, a few words are necessary as to the state of the country from a political and also from a literary point of view.

In the middle of the fifteenth century we find Spain divided into four main divisions, viz. :—Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and the Moorish kingdom of Granada. Castile was, without doubt, the strongest part of the quartette, extending as it did from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, and for long exacting homage from each of the others.

Adequately to appreciate the change that had taken place and the position of the country in the early sixteenth century, a word is necessary as to the state of Castile prior to the formation of the new empire.

The great Saracen invasion had dominated all the Peninsular Kingdoms since the beginning of the eighth century. The Saracens occupied the fertile district of Andalusia and for long had banished the Spaniards to the mountains. For over a century and a half the Spaniards had been compelled to witness the spoliation and desecration of the fruitful lands and villages of their ancestors at the hands of the infidel invader.

It is a matter of little surprise that such a state of affairs resulted in a war, not only fed by the flames of an outraged patriotism, but by the stronger and deeper incentive of a religious and holy purpose. The Castilian called, and did not call in vain, upon the whole of Christendom to assist in expelling the heretics. The Church and the Army were, to all intents and purposes, synonymous terms. Priest and People were united in a manner never seen before or since. The gorgeously arrayed ecclesiastic might be seen leading the armies of the faithful to battle. Papal bulls gave liberal indulgences to all who participated, with promises of Paradise to those who fell in the fight.

All this had a remarkable educational effect upon the country. More liberal forms of government were then found in Spain than in any other European country. This was due to two main, but quite distinct causes.

On the one hand, the followers of Mahomet were at that time noted for their refinement and knightly courtesy, and they were ever ready and willing to extend to the inhabitants of those parts accepting their domination, some degree, at least, of civil and religious liberty.

On the other hand, the Castilian towns were so often exposed to the sudden attacks and raiding expeditions of the Arabs that every citizen was necessarily a soldier and trained to bear arms. The responsibilities of citizenship carried with them, under such circumstances, corresponding advantages.

The burgess, a man of importance, demanded and received as a *quid pro quo* for his military services, large and ample municipal and judicial privileges.

Popular representation existed in Castile as early as 1169, and the legislature at that time assumed functions and exercised popular rights in a manner quite unexampled anywhere else. No taxes could be imposed without its consent, and a strenuous scrutiny was maintained over the conduct of all public offices and the administration of justice.

There are three events in the literary history of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in Spain which call for special notice.

The first is the commanding position taken by the *Chronicle*, both Royal and Personal, in the literature of the day. These chronicles soon developed into tales of

personal travel and adventure, most of them purely imaginary, which had a far-reaching effect upon all European literature and undoubtedly a sinister influence throughout the world.

It was an age of florid imagery and the apotheosis of pseudo-chivalry and knight-errantry.

*Amadis of Gaul* is perhaps the best of these romances of chivalry.

The plot is purely an imaginative effort, and its chronology and geography are alike uncertain. It portrays the character of a perfect Knight and depicts with truth the manners and spirit of the Knightly age.

In spite of much that is extravagant and coarse, it is, as we have said, the best of these romances which subsequently became so extremely numerous and increasingly absurd, until Cervantes destroyed them once and for all by the inimitable satire and ridicule of *Don Quixote*.

The next outstanding event in the literary history of the period is connected with the drama and was the publication of *Celestina*. It was divided into twenty-one acts or divisions, and forms one of the earliest, if not the earliest, drama in any European language.

The grossness of thought and manners throughout the work are characteristic of the age in which it was written, but in spite of these defects the style is easy and at times brilliant. It attained an enormous popularity, which lasted for many years after its publication, not only in Spain but in other countries.

The third, and perhaps the most important literary event, was the preparation and publication of the Com-



plutensian Polyglot Bible, the *magnum opus* of Cardinal Ximenes.

A satisfactory or adequate history of the printing press in Spain remains still to be written. It is a field of bibliographical research which cries aloud for competent treatment.

We can only gather from the facts which are at present available that the first dated book came from Valencia in 1474, and was printed by Lambert Palmart, who also issued other works during the next two or three years.

The early printers in Spain were Germans, and their work is characterised by the same excellence of execution and attention to detail which we are accustomed to find in most fifteenth century presses. The Spanish incunable in many cases is distinguished from those of France, Germany, and Italy, by the beauty of the woodcut initial letters that were employed and the restrained dignity and magnificence of the decoration.

It is unnecessary to trace in any detail the series of events—a long recital of internal warfare and miscellaneous intrigue—which eventually resulted in a united and prosperous Spain at the end of the fifteenth century.

On the 19th October, 1469, in a private house at Valladolid, with a remarkable absence of ceremony, was celebrated the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, two young people who were destined so notably to influence the history and welfare of Spain. In 1474 Isabella was crowned Queen of Castile, and five years later Ferdinand succeeded his father as King of Aragon. The union of hearts was now cemented by a territorial combination, the importance of which it would be difficult

to over-estimate. There is perhaps no more interesting and dramatic chapter in the history of the period than that which covers the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and includes the life-history of one who in turn occupied most of the prominent parts upon the stage during their eventful reign.

## CHAPTER I

### EARLY LIFE OF XIMENES AND HIS CALL TO THE CHURCH

[1436-1492]

FRANCISCUS XIMENES DE CISNEROS was born in or about the year 1436 at Torrelaguna, a village not far from Madrid.

He was baptized by the name of Alfonso, but in later years, when he entered the Franciscan Order, he adopted the name of Franciscus. "Gonsalez," a name that is sometimes associated with him, was an ancestral surname borne by the Ximenes family. This family had for long been established at Cisneros, in the ancient kingdom of Leon, the capital of which of the same name, about 250 miles N.W. of Madrid, is now the centre of the Spanish linen trade.

His father was Alfonso de Cisneros, and his mother Marina de Torre.

At the time of his birth the father occupied a minor official position as Receiver of Tithes. There seems very little doubt that the family fortunes had by this time decayed, although it is equally clear that the Ximenes family was of noble origin and for many generations had occupied an honourable position in Cisneros. We have the authority of a contemporary, Johannes Vergara, in support of this. In his commendatory verses, which

appeared in the New Testament volume of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, Vergara writes :

*“ Nomine Cisnerius clara de stirpe parentum  
Et meritis factus clarior ipse suis.”*

Franciscus, the subject of our sketch, was the eldest son, and was probably destined by his parents for the Church. He was sent to school at Alcalá de Henares, and obtained the rudiments of the education of the period—an elementary knowledge of Latin and the principles of Grammar. He subsequently entered as a student at the University of Salamanca, where he spent some years studying civil and canon law. He maintained himself during this period by acting as a coach to some of his fellow-students. In due course he took his degree, an exceptionally good one, both in civil and canon law. It was at Salamanca that we are told that he first manifested that preference for biblical study and research which, in later life, was to produce wonderful and fruitful results.

After leaving the university he returned home for some months, but finding that the family fortunes were increasingly on the down grade, after consulting with his father he set out for Rome to seek his fortune. This journey was the occasion of the earliest of those stirring incidents and adventures, of which his life was to be conspicuously full.

He was twice attacked on the road by robbers, who relieved him of his horse, money, and most of his personal belongings. He found himself stranded at Aix, penniless and unable to proceed. Fortunately, he ran across an old Salamanca fellow-student of the name of Brunet,







who financed his immediate necessities and accompanied him to Rome. He practised there for some years as an advocate in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Upon the death of his father he felt compelled to return to Spain, but, desirous of making some provision for his future, he asked and obtained from Pope Paul II. "*Epistolæ Expectativæ*," or a Bull which would entitle him to the first vacant benefice in the See of Toledo. This particular form of ecclesiastical patronage was as evil in its day as any of its successors. It had been forbidden by the third General Council of Lateran, but in later years the habit of granting these letters "*expectativæ*" had been renewed, and in fact they were often sold to replenish exhausted ecclesiastical coffers. In 1473, by the death of the Arch-Priest of Uzeda, that benefice fell vacant and was promptly claimed by Ximenes. It was a specially congenial sphere of work for him, as it included within its area his native town. Unfortunately, the then Archbishop of Toledo had already promised it to someone else.

The Archbishop was a particularly fiery specimen of the church militant, who, on more than one occasion, following the custom of the times to which reference has already been made, had exchanged his vestments for the armour of the soldier and led his troops in support of his master, Henry of Castile.

Ximenes was a good match, as far as obstinacy and determination were concerned, and a pretty quarrel ensued. It resulted in Ximenes being confined a prisoner at Uzeda instead of becoming its spiritual pastor. After he had been kept in confinement there and elsewhere for

upwards of six years, the Archbishop released him and gave him possession of the benefice. Ximenes, no doubt very wisely, did not unduly linger in the diocese of Toledo, but took the first opportunity to exchange for a chaplaincy under the famous Cardinal Mendoza at Sigüenza. We have dwelt a little on this incident, as it was characteristic of the man and of the inflexible purpose which dominated his whole life.

At Sigüenza, we are told that he employed himself mainly in learning the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages, a fitting preparation for his labours in connection with the Polyglot Bible in after years.

He speedily secured the confidence and affectionate regard of that powerful prelate, Cardinal Mendoza, who, on being appointed Archbishop of Seville, had no hesitation in entrusting to Ximenes, as his Grand-Vicar, the administration of the diocese of Sigüenza. How many years he held the post cannot now be definitely ascertained, but we next find him throwing over the cares and responsibilities of office and retiring to a convent at Toledo of one of the very strict Franciscan Orders. It was on his reception into this Order that he adopted the name of Francisus. His reputation for learning and piety soon brought great numbers of the inhabitants to make their confessions to him and to seek his advice. He quickly saw the rest and retirement he coveted disappearing before his eyes, and was removed at his own request to a small monastery of "Our Lady of Castenar," where, and later at Salceda, he spent some happy years in study and in the exercise of the severest and most exacting rites of his religion.

## CHAPTER II

### QUEEN'S CONFESSOR AND ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO

[1492-1498]

XIMENES presents perhaps the only example recorded in history of a man leaving the seclusion of a cloister in middle life, and afterwards attaining to the highest offices in both Church and State.

It was in 1492, upon a vacancy arising in the office of Queen's Confessor, that Cardinal Mendoza introduced Ximenes to the notice of Isabella.

Mendoza was a great man, and in no respect was his greatness better evinced than in his action at this time and later on with regard to Ximenes.

It was indeed a bold experiment to take the humble friar from his monastic cell and place him amid all the pomp and circumstance of a Court.

The story is full of interest and dramatic incident. Mendoza, who was well acquainted with the nature and disposition of his nominee, ordered him on the pretext of some urgent business to proceed to Court. He was met there by the Cardinal, who, after some general conversation, took him into the presence of Isabella. The Queen, we are told, was much impressed by his unaffected piety, the dignity of his bearing, and the entire absence of any nervousness shown in his replies to her various questions.

She sent for him two days later and intimated her desire that he should take up the vacant appointment. At first he declined the proposed honour with most uncourtly brevity, but eventually, in obedience to the commands of the Queen, he reluctantly agreed to accept the post. He, however, secured permission to continue to live at his monastery and come to Court only when he was required. His appointment naturally excited considerable interest at the palace. Peter Martyr, the historian, who had entered the royal service a few years before, narrates that Ximenes gave the utmost satisfaction, not only to Isabella, but to the people of Spain, and speaks of him as "equal in wisdom to St Augustine, to St Jerome in austerity of life, and in zeal to St Ambrose." We are further told that his personal appearance at this time was that of a man long withdrawn from the world, with an extremely spare frame and a countenance pallid and even haggard.

His duties as Confessor to the Queen were not merely confined to ministering to her spiritual necessities. Isabella had all the cares and responsibilities of the government of a great country upon her shoulders. It was natural, therefore, that she should increasingly rely on the judgment of one with whom she was necessarily on such intimate terms, in the settlement of the various matters of State upon which from time to time she consulted him.

About two years after his appointment he was honoured by the authorities of his own Order of St Francis by being appointed Provincial of that Order in Castile. It involved the oversight of all their religious establishments. Ximenes addressed himself to the duties of this office with com-

mendable zeal. The state of affairs among the professed followers of St Francis was lax in the extreme. Abuses had been allowed to creep in, and the poverty and austere living of their Founder had, to a very large extent, been exchanged for luxury and vice.

The new Provincial determined to make a personal visitation of all the monastic and other similar institutions. He selected as his companion one Francis Ruyz. They took a single mule to carry their modest luggage, and, in accordance with the rule of St Francis, they begged for their food as they wended their way from place to place. Ximenes was a bad beggar, and the results, when it was his turn to undertake the task, were very disappointing. His companion became very hungry, and in despair, turning to Ximenes, is reported to have said, "Your Reverence is going to starve us. You are little adapted for this business. God imparts to each one his own peculiar gift. You must meditate and pray and allow me to beg for you."

These particular services to the Order were, however, destined to be interrupted by another and a dramatic change in his fortunes. Cardinal Mendoza, the Archbishop of Toledo, fell ill at Guadalajara, and was visited there at the end of 1494 by both Ferdinand and Isabella. As he lay, on what proved to be his deathbed, he discussed with rare frankness the future of their kingdom. Among the matters that came up for consideration was the appointment of his successor, and Mendoza, with far-sighted wisdom and disregard of conventional usage, urged Isabella not to feel bound to appoint a noble to the office, but to seek above all a man of piety and capacity without



reference to his rank of life. There is very little doubt that at this interview he specifically advised the appointment of Ximenes as his only possible successor.

A fortnight later, on 11th January 1495, the great Cardinal passed away full of years and honour. Isabella paid tribute to a faithful servant by personally acting as executrix of his will. The appointment to the vacant See was no easy task for the Queen, who had retained in her own hands, independently of her husband, all ecclesiastical patronage. She seems, however, to have speedily made up her mind to appoint Ximenes.

The revolutionary nature of such an appointment can be well understood when it is remembered that the position carried with it the dignities of Primate of all Spain and Chancellor of Castile, and, after the Pope, held rank as the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in Christendom.

The situation was complicated by Ferdinand's strongly expressed wish that his natural son, Alfonso of Aragon, who occupied the episcopal See of Saragossa, should be appointed.

Isabella was, however, blessed with a happy instinct in those she chose to serve her and the country she loved so well. In spite of all opposition, mainly from Ximenes himself, she persevered in her intention, and on her procuring the Papal Mandate of Alexander VI., Ximenes was left with no option but to allow himself to be appointed to the office. At the conclusion of the solemn consecration ceremony we are told he knelt, as was customary, to kiss the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella and addressed them thus :



"I come to kiss the hands of your Majesties, not because they have raised me to the first See in Spain, but because I hope they will assist me in supporting the burden they have placed on my shoulders."

It is seldom that the wheel of fortune has so many kaleidoscopic changes in store for any one individual. The youth, who sought ecclesiastical preferment and instead found a prison, was the man who, only coveting the retirement and seclusion of a monastic cell, was compelled by the pressure of circumstances at the age of fifty-nine to assume the highest and most exacting responsibilities in both Church and State.

As soon as the formalities connected with his appointment had been completed, Ximenes took up again the question of monastic reforms. He made a beginning with the clergy of his own diocese. He took the opportunity, when receiving some of his Canons on their presenting their congratulations after his consecration, to make pointed reference to various matters in which they had seriously departed from the rule of St Augustine by which they were bound. The ecclesiastics listened politely, but left his presence perturbed and rebellious. They promptly selected one of their number, Canon Alfonso Alborno, and sent him off to Rome to invoke the assistance of the Pope in withstanding, what they considered the wholly unnecessary innovations of the new Archbishop.

They were, however, speedily to be taught that the new Primate possessed a hand of iron under a velvet glove. No sooner had Ximenes heard that Alborno had started than he despatched an officer of the Court in post-

haste to bring him back. At Ostia, by the aid of the Spanish minister, the unfortunate Canon was arrested, and being brought back a prisoner, he was afforded the opportunity, during nearly two years' confinement at Alcalá, of meditating at leisure on the impropriety of opposing the will of his ecclesiastical superior.

The reforms of Ximenes among the members of his own Franciscan Order were equally drastic. He took steps to divest them of lands and property which they had accumulated, both as individuals and a community, in defiance of the rules of the Order. The austerity of life which he sought to impose, coupled with his dominating methods of carrying out his reforms, provoked considerable uproar. Once again an appeal against him was lodged at Rome. The General of the Franciscan Order came specially from the Eternal City to lead the opposition. He sought an interview with Isabella and apparently treated her to a most violent tirade directed against the Archbishop.

The interview was a stormy one, and the Franciscan left the royal presence, informing the Queen, when she asked him if he realised to whom he was speaking, that he was well aware she was Queen of Castile, a mere handful of dust like himself !

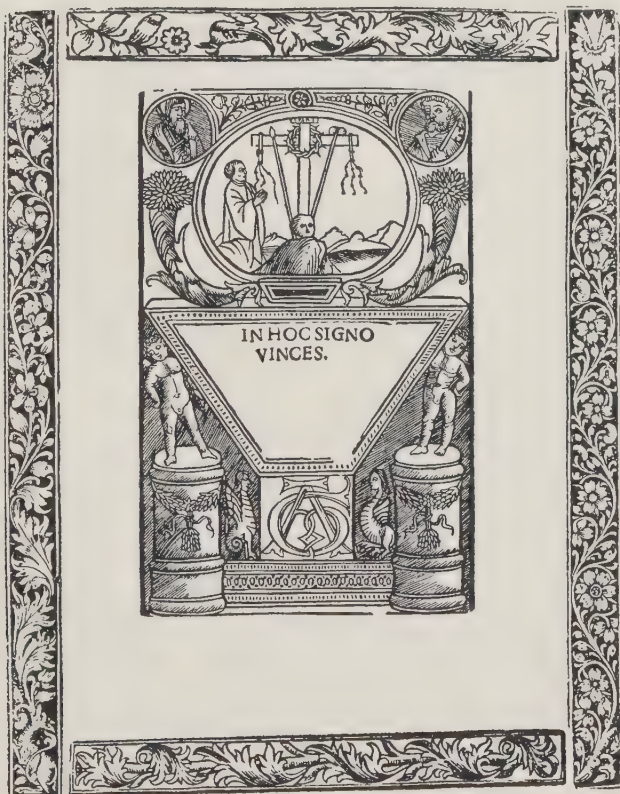
The matter did not end there. The Pope was persuaded to send a Commission of Conventuals to be associated with Ximenes in this particular work. These unfortunate colleagues were, as might have been expected, entirely ignored by him. This was so much the case that, acting upon their representations, Pope Alexander VI. issued a decree forbidding Ferdinand and Isabella from proceeding

# Explicit quarta et vltima pars totius veteris testamēti he-

braico grecoq; et latino idiomate nunc primū impressa in hac preclarissima Complutensi  
vniuersitate. De mandato ac sumptibus Reuerendissimi in christo patris & domi-  
ni domini. F. Francisci Ximenez de Cisneros tituli Sancte Balbine sacro  
sancte Romane ecclesie presbyteri Cardinalis Hispanie Archiepisco-  
pi Toletani & hispaniarum primatis : ac regnorum castelle  
Archicancellarij. Indulgentia & solertia honorabilis  
viri Arnaldi Guillelmi de Brocario artis impres-  
sorie Magistrj. Anno Domini Milles-  
simo quingentesimo decimo se-  
ptimo. mēsis Iulij die  
decimo.

Que in hoc volumine continentur hec sunt.

Esaias. Hieremias. Threni. Baruch. Ezechiel. Daniel. Osee. Iohel. Amos. Abdias.  
Ionas. Micheas. Naum. Abachuc. Sophonias. Aggeus. Zacharias. Malachias. Macha-  
beorum primus. Machabeorum secundus, Machabeorum tertius.



COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT—REPRODUCTION (REDUCED) OF  
OLD TESTAMENT COLOPHON AND PRINTER'S DEVICE.



any further in the matter of ecclesiastical reform until their proposals had been submitted to, and received the sanction of the head of the Church.

Isabella was furious, but inclined to give way.

Ximenes, however, was able to assure her that in the prosecution of these reforms she was carrying out the undoubted will of Heaven, and she therefore caused such strong representations to be made at Rome that no further opposition was experienced from that quarter. As a matter of fact, a year later Ximenes was given by papal authority even more ample powers than he had before possessed.

There is little doubt that the condition of affairs among the clergy throughout Spain, prior to this crusade by Isabella and Ximenes, was deplorable in the extreme. Clerical immorality and crass ignorance were rampant. As comparatively late as 1473 it was necessary to pass a formal decree providing that no man should be ordained who did not understand the Latin language. From the highest to the lowest in ecclesiastical circles the most ordinary canons of decency and morality were openly ignored. We learn on the authority of Marina that the practice of concubinage by the clergy was fully recognised by the law. For example, by the ancient charters of Castile, provision was made for their issue inheriting in cases where their parents died intestate. This legal recognition was nevertheless qualified by regulations compelling these particular ladies to wear distinctive dress to distinguish them from their more virtuous sisters.

It is not altogether surprising that the efforts of Ximenes to clean out this Augean stable resulted in an exodus of

a considerable number of the clergy who migrated to Africa, where their irregularities and self-indulgence were not the subject of any censorious criticism.

It was not only in matters ecclesiastical that the reforming zeal of Ximenes made itself felt. At the time of the conquest of the Moors a tax had been imposed for the purpose of financing those wars. This tax was known as the *Alcabala*, and consisted of an *ad valorem* duty of one-tenth on the occasion of any transfer or sale of *goods* as well as property throughout the kingdom. The hampering effect of this upon trade was disastrous, and Ximenes secured at this time a substantial modification in the amount of the tax and in the incidence of its collection. It is, however, not the case, as has been suggested by some authorities, that Ximenes secured its total abolition. The present writer has in his possession an original Privilege or Grant of these taxes in respect of certain specified towns, beautifully illuminated and written on seventy sheets of vellum, in favour of Don Henrique de Guzman, Conde de Olivares, dated 1580.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, it was not until the eighteenth century that Spain was freed from this impost.

<sup>1</sup> "Privilegio Al Illustrissimo Señor Don Henrique de Guzman, Conde de Olivares: Contador mayor de quantas de Castilla: . . . De las Alcavalas de las villas de Lora, Setefilla, Alcolea, Cantillana, Brenes, y Vallaverde q compro de su Mag<sup>d</sup>."



## CHAPTER III

### THE CONVERSION OF THE MOORS

[1499-1501]

THE fall of Granada in 1491, and with it the end of any Arabian Empire in Spain, was one of the most notable among the many stirring incidents of Isabella's long reign. It was an epoch-making event which had profoundly moved the whole of Christian Europe. It was celebrated everywhere with befitting rejoicings, and Lord Bacon has told us that on receipt of the news, which had been communicated to him in letters from Ferdinand and Isabella, Henry VII., accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishops and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, had attended in solemn state at St Paul's to sing a *Te Deum* in honour of the occasion.

In September 1499, some eight years afterwards, Ferdinand and Isabella paid a visit to Granada to inspect the conquered kingdom of the Moors. Two men had been responsible for the administration of the country since the treaty of capitulation. Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, had acted as Governor of the city, while Talavera, a benign and liberal-minded prelate, had been appointed as Archbishop of Granada.

The terms of the treaty of 1491 are important in the light of what was now to take place. In accordance with

its provisions the most ample civil and religious liberty was preserved for the conquered Moors, and their condition during these eight years has been justly compared with that of the Moslem population of India under British rule. A wise and sympathetic tolerance had characterised the administration. If Talavera was too good a churchman to abstain from propagandist work, he was too good a Christian to seek to further his missionary efforts by any kind of physical compulsion. We read of him, in the evening of his days, learning the Arabic language and taking steps to secure translations of selected portions of the New Testament.

It was, therefore, to a thoroughly contented, if subject people that the King and Queen, accompanied by Ximenes, now paid their visit.

The slow methods of the saintly Talavera had not produced the outward and visible signs, which alone would appeal to the narrow, if not bigoted zeal of Isabella. The visit came to an end, but Ximenes was left behind with instructions to pursue, in conjunction with Talavera, an active and strenuous propagandist mission.

It is probable that Ximenes very soon took the direction of the movement solely into his own hands.

He began with characteristic generosity by spending large sums from the revenues of his See in making costly presents to the leading representatives of the Moorish priests and doctors, whom he had invited to his palace to confer with him on matters of religion. The results were at once striking and remarkable.

The Moors applied in their thousands for baptism, as many as 4000 being baptized by aspersion in one day.

## THE CONVERSION OF THE MOORS 21

Prescott records that it was necessary to sprinkle them *en masse* with a mop ! It is not, however, to be supposed that such wholesale disaffection should not have seriously disturbed the stricter and less venal of the leaders of Moorish religious thought and practice.

Among the chief of these was one Zegri, a noble much esteemed and loved by his fellow-countrymen. Ximenes used every persuasive effort to secure his conversion to the true faith, but without result. He then adopted other and more questionable methods. He caused Zegri to be arrested and gave him into the custody of one of his officials, with instructions to that functionary to open the eyes of the unbeliever. After some days of fasting and imprisonment, being laden with heavy chains, the unfortunate man thought it desirable to intimate to his jailer that he had received a message in a vision from Allah commanding him to become a Christian. The news was promptly reported to Ximenes, who at once baptized the new convert, who assumed the name of Fernando Gonsalvo in honour of the "Great Captain" against whom he had once fought in the Moorish wars.

The only redeeming feature of this discreditable transaction is that Ximenes so impressed his own personality upon Zegri that it is reported that for many long years he was one of his most devoted and attached followers, and instrumental by word and deed in the conversion of his fellow-countrymen.

In this particular mission the policy of *festina lente* did not appeal to Ximenes. He persuaded himself that delay was imperilling the immortal souls of the Moors. He resolved to hasten matters by a blow at once speedy and

spectacular. He ordered that all the sacred and other writings of the Moors should be collected in one of the squares of the city. Priceless manuscripts, bound and illuminated copies of the Koran, together with works of general theology and philosophy, in all many thousands of volumes, were all destroyed by fire. It was indeed a lamentable holocaust, made none the less deplorable by having been committed by one who, in after years, was to render such signal services to the literature of his country and the education of its people.

One can only pass on, echoing the reflection of Lucretius :

*"Sæpius olim*

*Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta."*

It is not surprising that incidents of this kind fanned the flames of rebellion. The crisis was not long delayed. Infuriated by an act of violence committed by one of the servants of Ximenes, an angry mob surrounded his palace. He was implored by his friends to take refuge in the Alhambra by making use of a secret passage leading to it from the palace. At no time deficient in courage, he utterly refused and remained at the post of danger, assisting his servants and others to barricade and defend the palace.

The Moors were in an ugly mood, and it would undoubtedly have gone hard with Ximenes and his household if help had not come from the aged and venerated Count of Tendilla, the Governor of Granada, who, attended by his chaplain, boldly went out among the crowd and by his wise and conciliatory manner speedily reduced the passions of the Moors, who had always regarded him with feelings of the warmest regard and affection.

## THE CONVERSION OF THE MOORS 23

Ximenes reported at once this untoward event to the King and Queen at Seville, but unfortunately his messenger, an Ethiopian slave, was delayed on his journey, and did not arrive until rumours had already reached Seville that Granada was in a state of insurrection and in the gravest danger of reverting to the Moors. Ximenes was thereupon either recalled, or anticipating the need for explanations, proceeded himself to Seville and was able to satisfy Isabella that if he had erred, it had merely been from excess of zeal and that the situation demanded strong measures.

Gonsalvo de Cordova ("the Great Captain") was eventually sent back to the scenes of his former military triumphs, and the Moors were once again speedily subjugated, but not before many had been killed and their women and children sold into slavery.

Ximenes was Cromwellian in his policy, and in 1501 the faith of the Moors was formally proscribed throughout Granada, and a few months later by royal decree all the Moslem population were given the alternative of embracing Christianity or being banished from the country.

In this way the history of Islam in Spain was brought to an end. Henceforth the banner of the Cross held undisputed sway over a nominally Christian country.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE

[1502-1517]

XIMENES earned the undying fame of posterity as one of the most liberal benefactors and patrons of learning. It was after his appointment to the See of Toledo that he found himself in a position to gratify his love of letters, and to extend to others those facilities for acquiring learning, the limited opportunities for which he had himself made such good use of in his early life.

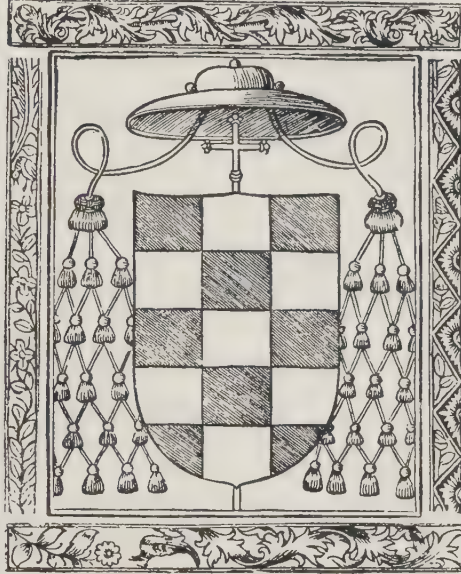
The revenues of his high office were fortunately enormous. At the close of the fifteenth century they exceeded 80,000 ducats, while it is said the gross amount reached to as much as 180,000.

He determined to devote the greater portion of this official income to the foundation of a school of Arts and Sciences which should be unrivalled among any similar institutions of the time. His mind, no doubt, had often turned to Alcalá, the little town where first he went to school.

Alcalá de Henares, "the castle on the river," the site of an old Arab fort, had for long been portion of the property belonging to the Episcopal See of Toledo. Its old Roman name of Complutum was given to it because it was the confluence, or meeting-place, of two rivers.



Haec tibi pentadecas tetragonon respicit illud.  
Hospitum petri et pauli ter quinqz dierum.  
Namqz instrumentum vetus hebdoas innuit octo.  
Lex noua signatur ter quinqz recepat virungs.



**Nouum testamentum**  
grece et latine in academia  
complutensi nouiter  
impressum.

**Q**Uae vero sigillatim et per ordinem in toto ope continetur: hic studiose lector oculis tuis subiciuntur. Primum tibi occurret epistola Eusebii patriarchae ad carptianum de concordia quatuor euangeliorum. Sequitur deinceps prologus hieronymi ad damasum papam et alii eiusdem doctoris prologi. Post hec succedunt quattuor euangelia greco sermone cum latina. bti hieronymi traslatioe ex opposito. Deinde sequuntur duo greci tractatus. alter de peregrinatione bti Pauli: et euthaly diaconi alter de tribus predicationibus: et martyrio eiusdem. Succedunt postea hypothesis siue argumenta theodoriti doctoris greci emi-

nissimi in epistolas bti pauli: et in epistolas canonicas: et sic arguta alia in easdem alterius doctoris greci innotant. Post hec sequuntur epistolae ipsae bti Pauli: cum reliquis noui testis opibus: oia cum interpretatione latina eiusdem beati hieronymi et regioe. Deinde subiunguntur vocabularia grecum communis ad diciones totius noui testamenti: et insuper sapientie et ecclesiasticae grece et latine cum theussima quadam in initio ad grecas litteras introductioe. Postremo loco libri claudunt interpretationes omni totius noui testamenti vocabulorum quae tam grecam quam hebraicam et chaldaicam sortita sunt etymologia ab initio matthei usque ad finem Apocalypsis.

COMPLUTENSIA N POLYGLOT—REPRODUCTION (REDUCED) OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT TITLE-PAGE.



## COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE 25

It is interesting to note in passing that it was the birthplace of Queen Catherine of Aragon, the first wife of Henry VIII., and also of Cervantes.

It was here that Ximenes decided to found his University. Plans were prepared by Pedro Gumiel, a famous contemporary architect, and in 1500 Ximenes laid the foundation-stone of the first College of San Ildéfonso. In 1508 the first students took up their residence, and signal marks of royal and papal favour ensured its success from the beginning. The professors, forty-two in number, were men of the highest standing and undoubted scholarship. There were eight chairs of philosophy, six each for theology, canon law and grammar, and four each for medicine, Hebrew, Greek and rhetoric, besides chairs of anatomy, surgery, mathematics and moral philosophy.

Ximenes endowed the University with a revenue of 14,000 ducats, and we are told that by the end of the first year there were no fewer than three thousand students.

Ferdinand paid a visit to the University in 1514, and at a later date Francis I. of France, upon visiting Alcalá, is reported to have said: "The University of Paris, the pride of my kingdom, is the work of many Sovereigns, but your Ximenes alone has founded one like it." (*Vide* Plate, No. II.)

It was in congenial surroundings such as these that Ximenes found time to crown his career by his edition of the Bible known as the Complutensian Polyglot.

A word or two is necessary as to the state of the text of the Bible at this period. The invention of printing was barely half a century old. As a matter of fact, the first book printed in Spain is dated 1474. The old manuscript

copies of the Vulgate had become corrupted, and no printed text of the New Testament in its original language existed. As far as the Old Testament was concerned, it had been comparatively recently, viz., in 1488, that the first Hebrew version had been published at Soncino.

One of the obvious reasons why the Scriptures of the Old Testament had been printed in the original Hebrew earlier than the New Testament in Greek, was the fact that the Jews were resident all over Europe, and, being a numerous and wealthy people, they were able to command the money and skill necessary for the purpose.

The Greeks, on the other hand, were in an entirely different position. Turned out of Constantinople when it was captured by the Turks in 1453, a date practically identical with that of the invention of printing, they had neither the time nor the means to expend on the publication and distribution of printed copies of the New Testament in their own language. Most of the Greek exiles competent for such a task had been copyists or scribes, and no doubt innate conservatism encouraged them to ignore the new invention. In addition, there was a practical difficulty, that any Greek type that existed was of a remarkably clumsy and ineffective variety.

Under such circumstances the ignorance of the clergy on the subject of the sacred text was stupendous, and the necessity for some better provision being made in this respect must have been obvious to a man of the stamp of Ximenes. His views are well expressed in the following extract from his Preface to the Polyglot :

“No translation can fully and exactly represent the sense of the original, at least in that language in which our

Saviour himself spoke. The MSS. of the Latin Vulgate differ so much one from another that one cannot help suspecting some alterations must have been made, principally through the ignorance and negligence of the copyists. It is necessary, therefore (as St Jerome and St Augustine desired), that we should go back to the origin of the sacred writings, and correct the books of the Old Testament by the Hebrew text, and those of the New Testament by the Greek text.

“Every theologian should also be able to drink of that water which springeth up to eternal life, at the fountain-head itself. This is the reason, therefore, why we have ordered the Bible to be printed in the original language with different translations. . . . To accomplish this task we have been obliged to have recourse to the knowledge of the most able philologists, and to make researches in every direction for the best and most ancient Hebrew and Greek MSS. Our object is to revive the hitherto dormant study of the sacred Scriptures.”

Ximenes assumed responsibility for the general supervision of the book, but he was careful to secure the best available editorial assistance.

The chief members of his staff were Diego Lopez de Zuniga, commonly known as Stunica, whose controversy with Erasmus over his editorial duties will later on be alluded to, Antonio de Lebrija, Demetrius Ducas of Crete, who had been invited by Ximenes to occupy the Greek chair at Alcalá, Nunez de Guzman, another Alcalá professor, and three converted Jews, learned Hebraists, Alphonso, a doctor at Alcalá, Paul Coronel, a professor of theology at Salamanca, and Alphonso de Zamora, to whom



was entrusted the Grammar and Hebrew Dictionary which forms one of the volumes.

The book has been often described, the best and most recent account being found in the Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles, issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society and edited by Mr Darlow and Dr Moule. The writer has used their description in collating his own and other copies of the book, and can pay tribute to the care and pains which characterise the whole of their most valuable catalogue.

The Polyglot consists of six folio volumes, and, commenced in 1502 in honour of the Prince who afterwards became the Emperor Charles V., was printed at Alcalá between the years 1514 and 1517.

The New Testament first appeared, its colophon being dated 10th January 1514. The next volume in chronological order is the Hebrew and Chaldaic Vocabulary of the Old Testament, the colophon to the Hebrew portion being dated 17th March 1514, and the Chaldean, 31st May 1514.

The four volumes of the Old Testament followed, the colophon in the last Old Testament volume being dated 10th July 1517—almost exactly four months prior to the death of Ximenes, which took place on the 8th November in that year.

In the Old Testament the Hebrew appears in the outside column, with Hebrew roots in the margin. The Latin Vulgate is in the middle and the Greek Septuagint (interlined with a Latin translation) in the inside column. The Pentateuch has in addition the Chaldee paraphrase (in Hebrew characters) at the foot of the page and the Chaldee roots in the margin. (*Vide* Plate, No. III.)



The position of honour given to the Vulgate will be observed, and this is emphasised in the Second Preface, where it is stated that as our Lord was crucified between two thieves, so the Latin Church stands between the Synagogue and the Greek Church.<sup>1</sup>

Attempts have been made to convict Ximenes of inconsistency by suggesting that these words necessarily imply the great superiority of the Vulgate text over the Hebrew and the Septuagint. It seems, however, clear that there was no disparagement of the original Scriptures *as such*, and it is generally accepted that the words in question refer not to distinctions of text, because in both prefaces the Hebrew text is referred to as the truth (*veritas*), but are only an unnecessary glorification of the Latin Church in comparison with the Greek Church and the Jewish Church.

In the Apocrypha only two texts appear, the Vulgate and the Septuagint (with the Latin interlined).

The first Old Testament volume contains the title within a woodcut border composed of flower-pots, flower baskets and floral arabesques. In the centre are the arms of Cardinal Ximenes printed in red. A variation of this title-page, which is found in some copies, will be dealt with later.

The words of the title :

“Vetus testamentū multiplici lingua nūc  
primo impressum. Et imprimis  
Pentateuchus Hebraico Gre-  
co atq; Chaldaico idioma-  
te. Adiūcta unīq; sua  
latina interpreta-  
tione,”

---

<sup>1</sup> “Mediam autem inter has Latinam beati Hieronymi translationem

appear in seven lines below the arms, above which appear some verses :

“Hæc tibi pentadecas tetragonon respicit illud  
Hospitium petri et pauli ter quinque dierum.  
Namque instrumentum vetus hebdoas innuit, octo  
Lex nova signatur, ter quinque receptat utrumque.”

These verses are thought by some to refer to the fifteen divisions in the shield of the Cardinal's arms, and to be a comparison with the fifteen days' visit of St Paul to St Peter at Jerusalem as narrated in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, or to the fifteen years occupied in the preparation of the work, namely, seven on the Old Testament and eight on the New Testament.

Masch, in his edition of Le Long's *Biblia Sacra*, writes “disputatum est inter eruditos,” and another explanation suggests a reference to the College of St Peter and St Paul at Alcalá and an allusion to the sacred number seven and the perfect number eight.

After the title, we find a Prologus addressed to Pope Leo X., followed by a series of prefatory notes, concluding with St Jerome's Preface to the Pentateuch.

On the verso of the last leaf of this preliminary matter is the Bull of Leo X., sanctioning the publication of the work, followed by a short address to the Reader by the Bishop of Abyla and Archbishop Mendoza, to whom Leo had addressed his Bull.

The precise order of this preliminary matter varies in  
velut inter Synagogam et Orientalem Ecclesiam posuimus: tanquam  
duos hinc et inde latrones medium autem Jesum, hoc est Romanam sive  
Latinam ecclesiam collocantes.”

## COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE 31

some copies, but I have adopted the arrangement in my own.

This first volume contains the Pentateuch, concluding with two leaves of errata which are often missing.

The second volume has a similar title-page, the dedication to the Pope, the address to the Reader and St Jerome's preface to the book of Joshua.

The text in this volume consists of Joshua to the prayer of Manasses, followed by two leaves of errata.

The third volume is similar to the others, and the text begins with the book of Esdras and ends with the book of Ecclesiasticus and a leaf of errata.

The fourth volume presents the text from Isaiah to 3 Maccabees, ending with the colophon :

“Explicit quarta et ultima pars totius veteris testamēti hebraico grecoq; ; et latino idiomate nunc primū impressa in hac preclarissima Complutensi universitate. De mandato ac sumptibus Reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini :  
domini F. Francisci Ximenes de Cisneros tituli  
Sancte Balbine sacro sancte Romane ecclesie  
presbyteri Cardinalis Hispanie Archiepiscopi  
Toletani et hispaniarum primatis : ac reg-  
norum castelle Archicancellarii. Indus-  
tria et solertia honorabilis viri Arnaldi  
Guillelmi de Brocario artis impres-  
sorie Magistri. Anno Domini  
Millessimo quingētesimo deci-  
mo septimo mēsis Julii  
die decimo.” (*Vide* Plate, No. IV.)

A fine woodcut device of the printer follows this colophon and the volume ends with two leaves of errata.

The fifth volume in the order in which they are usually found bound up is the New Testament, but it is more convenient first to dispose of the sixth volume containing the Hebrew and Chaldaic Vocabulary and other pieces, a course which has been adopted in the numbering of the volumes in my own copy.

The title-page to this volume is the same as in the others, with the exception of the actual words of the title :

“Vocabularium hebraicum atque Chaldaicum totius veteris testamenti cum aliis tractatibus pro ut infra in prefatione continetur in academia complutensi noviter impressum.”

On the verso of the title is an address to the Reader followed by “Interpretationes hebraicorum : Chaldeorum Grecorum que nominum ” (24 ff.), a list of names with variations (2 ff.), and an alphabetical index of Latin words (8 ff.). There then follow 172 numbered folios of Vocabulary ending with a colophon dated 17th March 1515, and a variation of the large woodcut device of the printer. The volume concludes with 15 ff. of “Introductiones Artis Grammaticæ Hebraice. Et primo de modo legendi et pronunciandi,” which is dated 31st May 1515.

We can now return to Volume V., the New Testament and the *editio princeps* of those writings in Greek. The title (*Vide* Plate, No. V.) is printed entirely in black, and reads :

“Novum testamentum  
Grece et latine in academia  
Complutensi noviter  
impressum.”

## Apocalypsis.

## Cap. xxi.

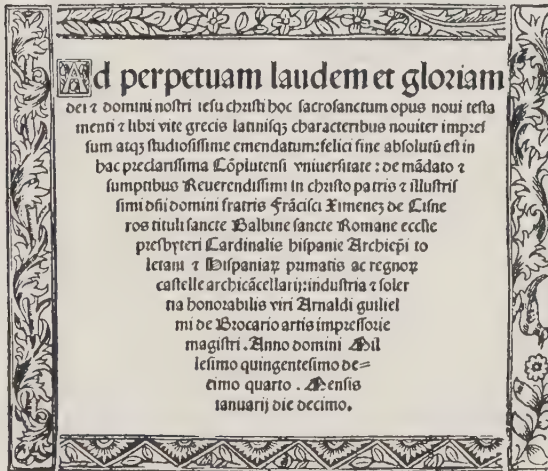
ψάμ' ἐρχέσθω ὁ θεὸς λαβέτω ὁ ὕλαρ τῶν  
 ἁλῶν. ἁμαρτῶν ἡ ἐγώ ὁ ἁμαρτῶν ἀκούομαι  
 τοῦ λόγου τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου  
 τοῦτου ἐὰν τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἐπιθήσεται ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἐπὶ ἀπληγὰς τὰς γεγραμ-  
 μέρας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦτου καὶ ἐὰν τις ἀφ' ἐ-  
 λθὼν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς προ-  
 φητείας ταύτης ἀφελῇ ὁ θεὸς τὸ μέρος αὐ-  
 τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ βύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς πό-  
 λεως τῆς ἁγίας τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ βι-  
 βλίῳ τοῦτου. λέγει ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα μοι  
 ἔρχομαι ταχὺ. ἀμήν. μοι ἔρχου κύριε ἡ-  
 σον. ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμοῦ ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ με-  
 τὰ πάντων ἡμῶν ἀγίων. ἀμήν.

Ἰέλως τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως.

'veniat: et q' vult accipiat aquam vite coo-  
 grans. Confessor enim omni audienti  
 verba prophete libri oooooo  
 huius. Si q's apposuerit ad hec: apponet  
 deus super illius plagas scriptas oooooo  
 in libro isto. Et si quis diminuerit ooo  
 de verbis libri prophete oooooo  
 huius: auferet deus partes eius ooooo  
 de libro vite et de civitate oooooo  
 scilicet de his que scripta sunt in libro oooo  
 isto. Dicit q' testimoniu phibet istoz. E-  
 na venio cito: ame. Veni dñe iesu. oooo  
 Gratia dñi nostri iesu christi cuz oooooo  
 omnibus vobis. Amen.

Explicit liber Apocalypsis.

## Deo gratias.



COMPLUTENSIAE POLYGLOT—REPRODUCTION (REDUCED) OF  
 NEW TESTAMENT COLOPHON AND PRINTER'S DEVICE.





There are preliminary verses and prefaces (3 ff.), " Interpretationes hebreorum Chaldeorum Grecorumque nominum novi testamenti " (10 ff.), followed by the text which concludes with the colophon :

" Ad perpetuam laudem et gloriam  
dei et domini nostri jesu christi hoc sacrosanctum opus novi  
testamenti et libri vite grecis latinisq; characteribus noviter  
impressum atq; studiosissime emendatum : felici fine abso-  
lutū est in hoc preclarissima Cōplutensi universitate : de  
mādato et sumptibus Reverendissimi in christo patris  
et illustrissimi dñi domini fratris Frācisci Ximenes  
de Cisneros tituli sancte Balbine sancte Romane  
eccl'ie presbyteri Cardinalis hispanie Archiēpi  
toletani et Hispaniar; primatis ac regnor, cas-  
telle archicācellarii ; industria et solertia hono-  
rabilis viri Arnaldi guilielmi de Brocario artis  
impressorie magistri. Anno domini  
Millesimo quingentesimo decimo  
quarto. Mensis januarii  
die decimo."

At the foot there is a different and smaller device of the printer. (*Vide* Plate, No. VI.)

The volume finishes with a leaf of commendatory verses in Greek and Latin, an " Introductio quā brevissima ad Greacas litteras " on another leaf, followed by a Greek glossary with Latin equivalents (38 ff.).

The exact order of the miscellaneous pieces in both these last two volumes is very uncertain, and copies present a bewildering variety in the order in which they have been bound up. The whole of the six volumes should consist of 1528 ff.

The New Testament text is printed in two columns, the Greek on the left and the Latin Vulgate on the right.

There are references in the margins and special notes are added in five cases, which we shall consider hereafter.

The Book of Acts is placed after the Epistle to the Hebrews, a variation which we also find in the Codex Sinaiticus. Immediately before the Epistle to the Romans are six leaves containing *αποδήμια παυλου* and Greek prefaces to the Epistles. These are an insertion and obviously printed after the rest of the book. They are missing in some copies and their presence is frequently alluded to in sale descriptions in catalogues. The type used for these six leaves has the ordinary accents and breathings, which are lacking elsewhere, and this is another indication that they were printed at a later date than the rest of the New Testament.

Gomez, whose life of Ximenes,<sup>1</sup> is the chief authority for most of the existing information about his life and the Polyglot, tells us that the Cardinal spent no less than 50,000 gold ducats (the equivalent of more than £230,000 of our money to-day) upon the work. As an illustration of the lavish nature of the expenditure, he recounts how 4000 ducats were paid for seven Hebrew manuscripts alone.

We have the authority of Leo X., as set out in his Papal sanction, that only 600 copies were printed, while the executors of Ximenes only fixed a price of 6½ ducats for the six volumes which at that time was only equal to about fifty shillings of English money. We have seen that the

<sup>1</sup> *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio, Cisnerio, Archiepiscopo Toletano, libri octo, Alvaro Gomecio Authore; Compluti, 1569.*

[See reproduction of title-page and portrait of Ximenes, Plates XIV. and IX.]

last volume of the work was printed in 1517. The Pope's sanction is dated 22nd March 1520, but it was not until 1522 that the book was put into circulation.

This delay has never been very satisfactorily explained and we must rest content with the theory that the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of Rome, being doubtful as to the wisdom of throwing a new translation of the Scriptures into general circulation, took a considerable time to come to a favourable decision.

A very important result of this delay in publication was that the New Testament, although printed in 1514, was not published or circulated until eight years later. This enabled Froben, the Basle printer, with the assistance of Erasmus (then at Cambridge), to bring out in 1516 what is in fact the first published, but not printed, version of the New Testament in Greek. This edition of Erasmus no doubt increased the delay in publishing the Complutensian version, because it is recorded that Erasmus obtained an exclusive privilege for four years for his edition throughout the Holy Roman Empire.

Stunica, the editor of the Complutensian New Testament, was very contemptuous in his criticisms of this version of Erasmus, and on one occasion was told by Ximenes, "God grant that all writers may do their work as well as he has done his. You are bound either to give us something better, or not to blame the labours of others" —a striking example of large-minded magnanimity.

There is no doubt that this long delay between printing and publication is responsible for some variations in the setting of existing copies. It is quite conceivable that if the sheets were thus left for years, that some of them might

get damaged by damp or otherwise, and require to be reprinted. This is doubtless the explanation of the typographical variations, which form the subject of an elaborate disquisition by Dr Adam Clarke, which is contained in the form of a letter dated 25th February 1824, and addressed to the Duke of Sussex. It will be found reprinted in Dr Pettigrew's *Bibliotheca Sussexiana* (vol. i. part ii. pp. 11-21).

Dr Clarke compares two copies of the Polyglot which he possessed, and which he calls the Red and the Blue copies, from the colour of their respective bindings. Beyond the fact that a few sheets were evidently set up again before publication, the only really material distinction that Dr Clarke draws attention to, is the undoubted fact that some few copies were supplied with a more ornate and decorative title page to vol. i. The arrangement of the letterpress on the title is different in the abnormal variety, the words of the title being compressed within six instead of seven lines, and the whole page is printed in black with no red.

The shield in the Cardinal's arms is hatched in a different manner, and there is an entirely new and superior woodcut border round the whole page. There are four square compartments, one at each corner, about two inches square, containing representations of a pope, a cardinal, a bishop and a mitred abbot, each bearing significant emblems of their office. (*Vide* Plate, No. VII.)

In all probability, the copies with this special title were prepared for presentation to the Pope and other high ecclesiastical and regal personages throughout Europe. I have only been able to discover four copies with this

special title in this country. One is in the British Museum, one in the library of Merton College, Oxford, one in Trinity College, Cambridge, and one in the library of the Law Society in London. I was much interested, when examining this last copy, to see that it was at one time the property of Dr Adam Clarke, and probably the actual copy which first drew his attention to the fact that two varieties of this Bible existed. On turning over the leaves, I found an interesting letter from Dr Clarke addressed to the Rev. Joseph Mendham, M.A., whose collection of rare books and incunabula has found a final resting-place in the library of the London Law Society, the governing body of English solicitors.

The copy is bound in blue morocco and has the arms of Spain upon the covers. In the letter Dr Clarke told Mr Mendham that he believed it came from the Royal Library at Madrid, having been looted by British soldiers with other rare books mentioned by Dr Clarke.

Three copies of the Polyglot are known to have been printed upon vellum. I have been able to trace two of them.

One is in the library of the Vatican at Rome.

The other, bound by Lewis in nineteenth-century morocco, was formerly in the Pinelli, MacCarthy, and Hibbert collections. It then passed into the possession of Mr Frank Hall Standish, who died in Cadiz in 1840. He bequeathed it, with other books in his library, to Louis Philippe, who in turn left it to his son, the Duc D'Aumale. It is now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, whose librarian has written me fully on the subject.

The value of the Complutensian Polyglot as the parent



of the textual criticism of the printed Bible must not be underestimated.

In the first place, a word as to its influence on the printed text. It will be remembered that Ximenes paid no less than 4000 ducats for seven Hebrew manuscripts. How far these were used it is now impossible to say, and indeed one writer (Quintanilla) alleges that these particular manuscripts arrived too late to be employed. It seems fairly certain, however, that the editors followed the Lisbon Pentateuch of 1491, and an Old Testament Hebrew edition printed by Soncino at Naples in the same year. That they made use in addition of some manuscript source, is confirmed by a Hebrew manuscript now in the University library in Madrid, which bears obvious traces of having been used for such a purpose.

The Complutensian Old Testament text was followed, more or less, in all the great Polyglots that succeeded it, viz., the Antwerp of 1568, the Heidelberg of 1586, and Walton's London Polyglot of 1655.

After that date its influence rapidly declined, as succeeding generations of learned Hebraists, notably Kennicott in the eighteenth and Ginsburg in the nineteenth centuries, devoted their attention to the examination and collation of many hundreds of hitherto unknown Hebrew manuscripts, and produced critical editions of the utmost value.

The influence of the New Testament text was, from a critical point of view, of infinitely greater importance.

Textual critics have always been anxious to discover and identify the actual manuscripts on which this *editio princeps* was based.

We can get little information from the editors them-



selves and that little in very general terms. In their New Testament preface they tell us that "ordinary copies were not the archetypes for this impression, but very ancient and correct ones (*"sed antiquissima emendatissimaque"*), and of such antiquity that it would be utterly wrong not to use their authority; which the Supreme Pontiff Leo X., our most holy father in Christ and Lord, desiring to favour this undertaking, sent from the apostolical library to the most reverend lord the Cardinal of Spain, by whose authority and commandment we have had this work printed."

Ximenes himself speaks in his dedication to Leo X. of "very ancient codices both of the Old and New Testament which Leo had sent, and which had aided them very much in their work." Modern scholarship has been compelled to refuse to accept these quotations in their literal sense.

Some of the manuscripts may have been, and probably were, lent by the Vatican authorities, and it is possible, nay probable, that the editors themselves believed them to be of the very oldest and best description; no doubt the oldest and best available at the period when knowledge of such subjects was in its infancy. In the light of what we know to-day it is abundantly clear that their manuscripts were comparatively late, certainly not earlier than the twelfth century, and very likely later even than that. It is significant that whenever a comparison is made between a modern manuscript of, say, the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries and one of the fourth or fifth, or with the quotations from the early Greek Fathers, the Complutensian text is found almost invariably to be in accord with the modern manuscript.

Attempts have been made to ascertain if the manuscripts now exist. Professor Moldenhawer of Denmark went to Alcalá in 1874 to see if he could find them in the University Library. He seems to have been put off with a fantastic story of their alleged sale in 1749 by the then librarian to a rocket-maker of the name of Toryo, and the proceeds credited in his accounts as having been received for useless parchments ("como membranas inútiles"). The story was further embellished by the suggestion that the rocket-maker employed these particular manuscripts to make rockets to celebrate the arrival at Alcalá of some unknown Grandee!

Dibdin repeats this legend, with all his accustomed wealth of superfluous verbosity, in his account of the Polyglot.<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately, later investigation has disproved the whole story of this alleged vandalism. It appears that so far from the library at Alcalá being in charge of an illiterate and incompetent librarian, he was a man of considerable eminence in the world of letters, who merely sold as waste paper the worn-out parchment covers of some manuscripts, prior to their being rebound.

Moreover, Toryo, the firework manufacturer, was himself an educated man, and on terms of intimacy with the professors at the University.

The seven Hebrew manuscripts supposed to have been used for the Old Testament, and spoken of by Gomez, appeared in a catalogue of the University Library in 1745, and are now in Madrid with the rest of the library which

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the knowledge of rare and valuable editions of the Greek and Latin Classics.* Second edition, London, 1804.



COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT—REPRODUCTION (REDUCED) OF SPECIAL VARIETY OF OLD TESTAMENT TITLE-PAGE.

[From the copy in the British Museum.]



was removed when the University was transferred from Alcalá.

No New Testament manuscripts appeared in this catalogue, or have ever been traced.

Custodians of ancient manuscripts have ever been jealous of any outside investigation into their treasures, and we can only conclude that the Danish professor was never intended to see any manuscripts, and was accordingly politely dismissed with this legend, a characteristic specimen of Spanish humour. We remember how Tischendorf experienced very much the same treatment on his second visit to the Convent on Mt. Sinai in search of the Codex Sinaiticus, while the blunt refusal of the Vatican authorities for so many years to allow any inspection of their famous Codex B is another case in point.

An attempt has been made to controvert the statement of Ximenes that Leo X. lent him manuscripts for the New Testament. It is argued that, as the New Testament volume was printed in January 1514 and Leo only elected Pope in February 1513, that there was insufficient time for the employment of any such manuscripts.

In the first place, there is nothing to have prevented Leo from having been the means of procuring the loan before he was elected Pope. Again, there is no inherent improbability on the score of shortness of time, when we remember that Erasmus prepared his edition when commissioned by Froben, the Basle printer, in the short space of five months, and at a time, moreover, when he was burdened with many other literary labours. The distinguished men who were devoting all their time and attention to the editing of the Complutensian New Testament were



surely equally competent with more than double the amount of time at their disposal.

Another accusation made against the editors was that they wilfully distorted their text in order to make it coincide with the Latin of their much venerated Vulgate. There is little or no proof of this. On the contrary, their Greek text differs from the Vulgate in more than 900 places, and often in important passages they have obviously followed manuscript sources and provided renderings entirely opposed to those contained in the Vulgate.

The chief reason that gave rise to such an accusation is the fact that they included in 1 John v. 7 and 8 the testimony of the heavenly witnesses. Verse 7 reads: "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one."

These are the words of our Authorised Version, but they do not appear in the Revision of 1881.

This is one of the best known examples of the formation and introduction of a gloss into the text. The Complutensian editors inserted these words with the exception of the last five "and these three are one," and made a note (the longest of the five notes they have given us throughout the New Testament), to explain, not the inclusion of the words as to the heavenly witnesses, but their reason for omitting the last clause, which they did on the authority of St Thomas Aquinas. Up to the time of the invention of printing, the appearance of this gloss was confined within very narrow limits. The evidence against its authenticity is overwhelming. It is not found in any reliable Greek manuscript. The only two Greek manu-



scripts which do contain it are late, and one of them is itself an obvious copy of the Complutensian text. (Codex Ravianus, Evan. 110.)

PLATE VIII.

ἵ ὅτι ἱ Τρεῖς ἱ εἰ =  
 σῖμ/οἱ ἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἱ ἐμ/Τω ἱ ουραμῶ, /ο ἱ πα=  
 τήρ ἱ και/ο ἱ λόγος ἱ και/Το ἱ ἁγιοῦ ἱ πνεύμα, " και  
 /οἱ ἱ Τρεῖς ἱ εἰς/Το ἱ ἐμ ἱ εἰσί. ἱ και ἱ Τρεῖς ἱ εἰς ἱ μ/οἱ ἱ μαρ  
 τυροῦντες ἱ ἐπὶ/Τῆς ἱ γῆς./Το ἱ πνεύμα ἱ και/Το ἱ ὕ  
 λωρ ἱ και/Το ἱ αἷμα. ἱ εἰ/Τῆρ ἱ μαρτυρία, /Τω ἱ ἀμ  
 θρωπωρ ἱ λαμβάνομεν./ἱ μαρτυρία/Του ἱ θεοῦ  
 ἱ μείζων ἱ ἐστίν. ἱ ὅτι ἱ αὐτὴ ἱ ἐστίν/ἱ μαρτυρία/Του  
 ἱ θεοῦ ἱ ἡμ ἱ μεμαρτύρηκε ἱ περὶ/Του ἱ υἱοῦ ἱ αὐτοῦ.

Specimen of Greek type employed in the Complutensian New Testament.

It is not contained in the Peshitta, or in the majority of the other versions. On the other hand, it is found in the works of Vigilius of Thapsus in the fifth century, and thereafter it obtained general acceptance in the Latin Church, appearing in the printed editions of the Vulgate. No doubt the desire to support the doctrine of the Trinity increased the inclination of the ecclesiastical authorities to adhere to an obvious interpolation, but we can only agree with Richard Baxter, who, writing on the disputed passage,<sup>1</sup> says: "Though much of these words be not in

<sup>1</sup> *A Paraphrase of the New Testament*, London, 1685.

many ancient copies of the Bible . . . it need not offend the Faithful, there being so many other texts which assert the Trinity."

Erasmus left the words out in his first two editions of 1516 and 1519, but being called upon by Stunica to justify the exclusion, promised to insert it if any Greek manuscript could be produced in its favour. It is fairly clear from Stunica's own correspondence with Erasmus that the debated words were merely a translation from the Latin. However, a manuscript, Codex Montfortianus (Evan. 61), now in Trinity College, Dublin, was produced with the passage included, and Erasmus, in fulfilment of his promise, inserted the words in his third edition of 1522.

There appears, however, to be a doubt whether this particular Greek manuscript, which is as late as the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, had not in fact been largely corrected from the Vulgate. The particular passage in the manuscript has been glazed over with some preparation for protection, which made a witty Irish priest observe that no one could fail to see that it was a gloss !

There are only four other annotations made by the Complutensian editors, viz. : a reference to the omission of the Doxology in the Lord's Prayer (Matthew vi.), two alternative renderings in 1 Corinthians xiii. 3 and 1 Corinthians xv. 31, and in the 51st verse of the same chapter the suggested insertion of the Greek word *ἅλλου*, which would make the passage run : " We shall not all sleep, but *elsewhere*, we shall all be changed."

This is a significant and interesting variation in the accepted reading. When I read this note and found this new marginal reading, I searched everywhere to see if the

leading textbooks threw any light on the subject, but without any result.

I have had some correspondence with Mr H. C. Hoskier, the well-known textual critic, on this passage and he gives as his opinion that the Complutensian reading of ἀλλου is really ἀλλ' οὐ, which has ample justification, the variation arising from the manipulation of a short lined codex.

The Complutensian version of the New Testament did not appear in many subsequent editions, with the exception of the Antwerp Polyglot.

For one thing, the revision of Erasmus had the great advantage of a long start and a far larger circulation. The Complutensian, nevertheless, influenced in many places the *textus receptus*. For example, Erasmus in his third edition of 1522 largely adopted the Complutensian text of the Apocalypse.

As a first attempt at a critical edition, it is deserving of all possible praise, particularly having regard to the paucity of material at the disposal of the editors.

A word now as to the printer and his type. Arnald Guillen de Brocar has often been thought to be a German, but as Hæbler<sup>1</sup> points out, the Latin form of his name which he employs, Arnaldus Guillelmus, is incompatible with a German origin, as if he had been a German he would have rendered it Arnoldus Guillelmus.

In all probability he came from the South of France. He is first found in 1489 as a printer at Pampelona, where he printed some sixteen books in the fifteenth century.

In 1500 he removed to Logroño and later on to Alcalá,

<sup>1</sup> *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal*, by Konrad Hæbler, Bib. Soc. Monograph, 1896.

but he continued to maintain presses at Logrono, Toledo, and Valladolid. After the death of Ximenes, Brocar secured the patronage of Charles V. and was appointed court printer, and he also was fortunate enough to obtain the contract for printing all Papal Bulls and Letters of Indulgence throughout Spain. He died in 1523, and his activities, and the general commercial success attending his efforts, remind us very forcibly of Anthony Koberger of Nüremberg.

Brocar printed some ninety-two books, but his title to fame rests without doubt on his printing of this Complutensian Polyglot.

The best experts on early Hebrew printing unite in praising the fount of Hebrew type made use of in the Old Testament.

Mr E. N. Adler, whose collection of Hebrew incunabula is unrivalled, tells me that he knows nothing to compare with it among early Hebrew books, not even among the Spanish and Portuguese incunabula. The fount is in three types: (*a*) a few large initial letters, (*b*) the ordinary type of the text, and (*c*) the smaller type of the notes, which is also found in a Zamorra Hebrew Grammar printed at Alcalá in 1524.

The special feature, however, of the printing of the Complutensian is the very remarkable and truly magnificent fount of Greek type used in the New Testament. (See reproduction, p. 43.)

Whereas other Greek types in use since the days of Aldus have been founded on the cursive, or running handwriting, in which beauty was sacrificed to speed, this fount of Brocar imitates the formed and stately uncials of the best Greek manuscripts.

## COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE 47

Proctor<sup>1</sup> says that "To Spain belongs the honour of having produced as her first Greek type, what is undoubtedly the finest Greek fount ever cut, and the only one of which it can be affirmed with certainty that it is based on the writing of a particular manuscript."

Proctor backed his opinion by himself designing a type in imitation of it and improved it by a set of capital letters, providing also accents and breathings in which it was almost entirely lacking.<sup>2</sup>

Proctor says that the Complutensian fount had only one capital letter, a Π. He is, wonderful to relate, in error as to this. There are the following other capital letters, viz. :—

Α (alpha)  
Κ (kappa)  
Δ (delta)  
Τ (tau)  
Γ (gamma)  
Η (eta)  
Ο (omicron)  
Σ (sigma)

The whole type is of singular simplicity and beauty. In the Vocabulary to the New Testament a set of accents is provided.

Brocar tells us in his preface that the type was cut on the model of the Greek manuscript lent to Ximenes by Leo X., and excuses its deficiencies on the ground that it

<sup>1</sup> *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*, by R. Proctor, Bib. Soc. Monograph, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> For an example of Proctor's Greek type see *The Oresteia of Æschylus*, 1904.



was more respectful to print it after the fashion employed by the ancient Greeks !

The Greek type he used later in the Old Testament was entirely different, resembling that of Aldus. It is a smaller and a poorer type, and was no doubt necessitated by the interlined Latin which prevented the employment of anything larger. Here again, Brocar provides the explanation that the Greek in the Old Testament being merely a translation, it was not worth his while to use his special fount.

The devices he uses are of three varieties in this book. The one at the end of the Old Testament is within a wood-cut border and measures 6 inches by  $7\frac{1}{4}$ . It represents a figure kneeling before the Cross. There are portrait medallions of two saints, one in each top corner ; below are two figures on pedestals upholding a triangle within which is the motto : " In hoc signo vinces." (*Vide* Plate, No. IV.) At the foot his initials appear in monogram.

The same device appears at the end of the Vocabulary volume with a variation of the motto : " Per signū Cru/cis de inimi/cis n̄ris libera/nos dñe Deus/noster."

In the New Testament we find a much smaller device,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches, consisting of a circle, printer's staff and his monogram, all in white upon a black ground. (*Vide* Plate, No. VI.)

Haebler thinks the fact that he used a device at all, suggests a German origin, but as many early Spanish printers undoubtedly adapted their devices from French and Italian examples, there is no special reason why, in his case, a German provenance should be assumed.

The larger Complutensian device is not, as far as I am aware, found in any other book. It is obviously adapted





CARDINAL XIMENES.

[Reproduced from the *Life by Gomez*, published at Alcalá in 1569.]



from an elaborate device which Brocar had used in several of his books.

This other device has the same design of a man kneeling at the Cross, but underneath there are two angels holding up a shield within which is his monogram surmounted by a porcupine. There is also a somewhat strange motto :

“Inimici hominis domestici ejus.”

It has been suggested that we have here an indication of family dissension, or some reflection upon the competency of his workpeople, but it is a motto that has never been satisfactorily explained.

The small New Testament device and the border and arms of Ximenes I have found in a copy of the *Letters of Catherine of Sienna*, printed by Brocar for Ximenes at Alcalá in 1512, nearly two years before the Complutensian. The borders of the title and the device are identical, but the blocks of the border have been transposed. This particular book is printed in a fine Gothic type.

Early books from Brocar's Complutum press are scarce, and increasingly difficult to obtain.

The relations between the Cardinal and his printer were of the friendliest description. We are told that Brocar's son carried the last sheets of the final volume of the Polyglot to Ximenes, who was then lying ill on what proved to be his death-bed, and that the aged Cardinal, raising his eyes to heaven, said :

“I give thee thanks, O Most High God, that thou hast brought to the long-wished-for end this book which I undertook.”

During the last three years I have endeavoured to com-

pile a census of the existing copies of this Complutensian Polyglot Bible.<sup>1</sup> I am fully conscious that in many respects it must be inadequate and incomplete.

For example, the response from Spain has been very disappointing, and there must be some copies of the work in South America, particulars of which I have not been able to ascertain.

I think I may say, however, that as far as the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and the United States are concerned, my information is fairly complete. I make this reservation that it is always difficult to obtain information as to copies in private hands.

The book is very seldom found perfect and complete, and a large proportion of the copies which I have been able personally to collate are imperfect in some particular.

I am under a great debt of obligation to librarians all over the world for information and assistance cordially placed at my disposal, and, whenever I have asked for it, for facilities for inspection.

To summarise the results, I have traced ninety-seven copies, perfect and imperfect.

In the United Kingdom there are forty-nine, of which no fewer than twenty are in Oxford and Cambridge libraries. Eight are in private hands and nine are in six London libraries. Scotland has four copies (two in Glasgow, one in Edinburgh, and one in St Andrews). The United States have sixteen copies; France, nine; Italy, eight; Germany, seven; Portugal, two; Spain, two; and Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, and Russia have one each.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix A.

Unrecorded copies undoubtedly exist, particularly in Germany, Spain, and South America, but making allowances for them, and for copies in private hands and any on sale by booksellers, I think we may safely assume that there are not more than two hundred copies which have survived the four centuries since the book was printed.

Copies are very seldom on the market.<sup>1</sup> A really good copy usually fetches a high price, and with the increasing demand for early printed books from Spanish presses, the price is likely to be maintained.

In the Pinelli sale the copy on vellum now in the library at Chantilly fetched £483. In the MacCarthy sale the same copy fetched £676. Of ordinary copies on paper, the Sunderland copy fetched £195 and the Beresford Hope copy £166. Odd volumes and defective sets are sometimes obtainable for a few pounds.

The notes of previous ownership relating to the copies set out in the Appendix are pregnant with interest. You will find copies that belonged to great kings and to famous ecclesiastics, embracing a long line of popes, archbishops, cardinals, and bishops. We handle a copy bound for De Thou, that prince of bibliophiles. Another, looted during the French Revolution from a Jesuit College in Montpellier, has found its last resting-place in the library of a theological seminary in New York.

If all these volumes could only speak to us, what a tale they would tell !

<sup>1</sup> Mr Quaritch informs me that during the last thirty years not more than eight or ten perfect copies have passed through his hands, while the copies that have been sold by public auction during the same period are surprisingly small.

As has been well said <sup>1</sup>: "We sit as in a theatre, the stage is time, the play is the play of the world. What a spectacle it is. What kingly pomp, what processions file past. What cities burn to heaven, what crowds of captives are dragged at the chariot wheels of conquerors!"

We turn over the leaves of these Old Testament volumes and "we breathe the morning air of the world while the scent of Eden's roses still lingered in it, while it vibrated only to the world's first brood of nightingales, and to the laugh of Eve.

"The silence of the unpeopled Syrian plains, the outgoings and ingoings of the patriarchs, Abraham and Ishmael, Isaac in the fields at eventide, Rebekah at the well, Jacob's guile, Esau's face reddened with desert sun heat, Joseph's splendid funeral procession. What a silence as of a half-peopled world. What green pastoral rest, what indubitable human existence!

"Across brawling centuries of blood and war we hear the bleating of Abraham's flocks, the tinkling of the bells of Rebekah's camels.

"O men and women, so far separated yet so near, so strange yet so well known. By what miraculous power do we know you all?

"What King's Court can boast such company? What school of philosophy such wisdom?"

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from *Dreamthorp: a Book of Essays*, by Alexander Smith, 1830-1867.



## CHAPTER V

### XIMENES RESTORES THE MOZARABIC LITURGY, AND HIS OTHER SERVICES TO LITERATURE

WE have noticed the two outstanding services rendered by Ximenes as a patron of learning, viz.: the foundation of the University of Alcalá and the preparation and completion of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.

In his literary labours he was not content to confine himself solely to theology. Reference has already been made to Johannes Vergara, whose commendatory verses on Ximenes appear in the New Testament volume of the Polyglot. He was one of the professors at Alcalá, and Ximenes commissioned him to prepare a complete edition of the works of Aristotle. He no doubt contemplated doing for philosophy what he had done so successfully for biblical research. The commission was given prior to the completion of the Polyglot. Unfortunately, Ximenes died before Vergara had done more than collect together some part of the necessary material. The death of his patron put an end to the undertaking, and the unfinished manuscript eventually found its way to the Cathedral Library of Toledo in default of anyone being found able or willing to bear the expense of its completion and publication.

Ximenes was, however, responsible for another literary undertaking of great importance. A casual visit to the

library at Toledo, and the discovery there of some old Gothic manuscripts, afforded him the opportunity of conferring a great benefit on the liturgical literature of his time, by the publication of the Gothic, or Mozarabic Liturgy.

The Goths, who dominated Spain in the fifth and sixth centuries, had codified their religious rites into a form afterwards known as the Gothic Ritual. St Isidore, who was Bishop of Seville at the beginning of the seventh century, revised this ritual. At the Council of Toledo, over which he presided in A.D. 633, its use was enjoined in all the churches. A little later on the Goths were conquered by the Arabs. For a period of about four centuries Spain was under the sway of Islam, although, with a tolerance which we should not have expected, the Moors allowed the Goths who remained in the country a certain amount of freedom in matters of worship. They continued to use their Gothic ritual, but as time went on it became corrupted as the Goths intermingled with their conquerors. These Gothic Christians were allowed to uphold the banner of their faith with little interference and still less help from the papal authorities of the Vatican. However, at the end of the eleventh century the Moors were expelled from Toledo, and Rome, at the instigation of the French monks of Cluny, whose influence in Spain had always been great, made an attempt to substitute for the Gothic, or, as it was known, the Mozarabic Ritual, the Italian Mass Book and Formularies.

A cardinal legate was sent by the Pope to Spain to effect the change, but met with the greatest possible opposition on the part of the king and people, who were quite content to continue their worship according to the rites sanctioned

by their beloved St Isidore, and which had been formally approved by Pope John X. in A.D. 924.

Alfonso VI. was apparently prepared to give way to the papal demands, but the Castilians, at no time willing to tolerate interference from Rome, protested vigorously. The question was, in accordance with the custom of the times, submitted for decision to the ordeal of single combat. Two champions were chosen, and the knight representing the Mozarabic Liturgy gained the day. A further test was made in a characteristically Spanish fashion by a contest between two bulls in the ring at Toledo. The Mozarabic animal proved victorious, and again the conservative instincts of ecclesiastical Castile prevailed.

A few years later Gregory VII. sent Cardinal Ricardo on a similar errand. At a Council held at Burgos the Mozarabic Ritual was formally abolished, but the Castilians were still dissatisfied, and an appeal was once more made to the judgment of Heaven. A solemn fast was proclaimed. A huge fire was lighted and, after prayer, a copy of the Mozarabic and Roman Missals were simultaneously given to the flames. The Italian service-book escaped destruction by rebounding from the pile and falling outside the reach of the fire, while the Mozarabic remained uninjured in the middle of it! (*Vide* Plate, No. X.) “Allà van leyes, donde quieren reyes” (“What kings wish, the law wills”), and Alfonso decided that as both books appeared to have equally secured divine protection, they should both be recognised as valid in his dominions. The Mozarabic Ritual, however, gradually died out and became practically extinct, until it was revived by Ximenes at

the end of the fifteenth century. His predecessor in the See of Toledo, Cardinal Mendoza, had contemplated dealing with the question, but had died before he was able to carry out his intentions. Ximenes placed the work in the hands of Alphonso Ortez, one of the canons at Toledo, and provided him with three assistants. He caused the manuscripts to be carefully revised and altered the old Gothic characters into the ordinary type of the period.

This Missal was sumptuously printed by Peter Hagembach of Toledo and published in 1500. It is one of the rarest and finest of Spanish early printed books. The title-page consists of a fine woodcut representing Saint Ildéfonso receiving the *casula* at the hands of the Virgin, surmounted by a cross and crowned with a cardinal's hat. (For a similar cut, see Plate, No. XI.) The border, in the form of an escutcheon, bears the motto : "Indui eum vestimento salutis, sacerdotes eius induam salutari."

This particular woodcut has been regarded by most bibliographers as representing the arms of Cardinal Ximenes and being the device of Hagembach, the printer. It certainly does not represent the Cardinal's arms, which are correctly given on the title of the Complutensian Polyglot. (*Vide* Plate, No. V.)

As far as Hagembach is concerned, he used the design of St Ildéfonso and the Virgin in two states in several of his books. I have a copy of a *Cæsar* which he printed in 1498 in which the device appears in its earlier state without the border, motto, cross, or the cardinal's hat. On the other hand, it appears in practically the same form as in this Missal, in a book (*Vita et processus Sancti thome cantuariensis*) printed by another printer,



MOZARABIC AND ROMAN MISSALS—ORDEAL BY FIRE.

[From the Mozarabic Missal printed at Angelopoli (Puebla de los Angeles),  
Mexico, 1770.]







Johannes Gysser at Salamanca in 1506. (*Vide* Plate, No. XI.) The truth seems to be that the device, which probably was originally designed by Hagembach, became employed on books published under the patronage of Ximenes.

Underneath the woodcut, printed in red in a bold Gothic type, is the following title :—

Missale mixtum secūdum re / gulam beati Isidori dictum / Mozarabes.

On the verso of this title is a dedication by Ortez to Ximenes. The volume ends with the following colophon :—

Ad laudem omnipotentis dei. / necnon virginis marie matris eius . . . Impressum in re / gali civitate Toleti. Jussu Reverendissimi in / christo patris dñi. d. frācisci Ximenes : eiusdē / civitatis Archiepiscopi. Impensis Nobilis / Melchioris Goricii Novariensis. Per magi / strum Petrum hagembach. Alemanum. An / no salutis nostre Milesimo quingentesimo / die vero nona mensis Januarii.

Printed in double columns in red and black, it is undoubtedly one of the most splendid typographical examples of the early Spanish press.

The difference between the Roman and Mozarabic liturgies is most marked in the canon of the Mass. The form of consecration<sup>1</sup> in the Mozarabic being almost entirely taken from 1 Corinthians xi. 24.

Ximenes was justly proud of the book and ordered a

<sup>1</sup> “ Dominus Noster Jesus-Christus in qua nocte tradebatur accepit Panem, & Gratias agens benedixit, ac fregit, deditque Discipulis Suis dicens ; Accipite & manducate. Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur.”

number of copies to be printed, both of it and of the Breviary which was issued by the same printer two years later.

These two books are now of the utmost rarity.

A copy of both of them appeared for sale in a London sale room in 1909, and the two volumes fetched no less than £1250.

The Missal was reprinted at Rome in 1755, at Angelopoli (Puebla de los Angeles) in Mexico in 1770, and again in Rome in 1804. The Mexican edition is scarce and of considerable interest. It is a fine specimen of printing and contains three full-page and other copper plates by a native artist. The one before the Prayer of Consecration represents the Crucifixion, while the other two illustrate the ordeals by fire and combat to which reference has already been made. (*Vide* Plate, No. X.)

The Breviary was reprinted by Ibarra, one of Spain's most famous printers, at Madrid in 1775. The writer has in his collection a copy from the Royal Library of Charles III. of Spain, bearing his arms in gold on the binding, and two copies of the Mexican issue of the Missal, one of them from the library of Ruffo de Calabria, Prince of Naples.

Ximenes was not satisfied with the mere publication of this Ritual. He erected a chapel in his own cathedral and founded a college of priests with a head chaplain, for the observance of this Mozarabic rite, and gave to this college the right of presentation to six churches in his diocese.

There were other works of literary and educational interest which he was responsible for publishing both in Latin and the vernacular. Gomez mentions a few of these, including the Letters of Catherine of Sienna; a treatise of

Tostatus, Bishop of Avila ; the works of Angela de Foligno ; The Ladder of Perfection by St John Climacus ; a volume of meditations on the life of Christ and a biography of St Thomas à Becket. He writes : “ Sed cum hi libri partim ab antistite per cœnobia divisi, partim a bibliopolis eres-tigio distracti fuerint, paucissimi nunc inveniuntur & sui pretium raritate adaugent.”

If they were rare when Gomez wrote in 1569, their rarity to-day is beyond question. Three of the most interesting are : (1) *Obra de las epistolas y oraciones de la bien aventurada virgen sancta catherina de sena* (The Letters of St Catherine of Sienna), translated by Antonio de la Peña and printed by Brocar in 1512. The woodcut of the arms of Ximenes on the title, and the border and the small device of Brocar on the last leaf, are the same as used by this printer in the New Testament volume of the Polyglot printed two years later, although the blocks forming the borders have been transposed. (2) *Scala Spiritualis* (The Ladder of Perfection), by St John Climacus, printed at Toledo by Hagembach in 1505. (*Vide* Plate, No. XII.)

(3) *Vita et processus Sancti thome cantuariensis*, a biography of St Thomas à Becket, by the Abbot of Croyland, printed at Salamanca by Johannes Gysser in 1506. (*Vide* Plate, No. XI.)

The list of Gomez is by no means complete, but a hand-list of works, known to have been printed and published by direction of Cardinal Ximenes, will be found in Appendix C.

## CHAPTER VI

### CARDINAL AND INQUISITOR-GENERAL OF CASTILE

[1504-1508]

IN a letter written by Peter Martyr on the 15th October 1504, we read: "You ask me respecting the condition of the Queen's health. We sit in the palace full of sorrow, waiting with trepidation the hour when religion and virtue shall with her take their flight from this earth. Let us pray that we may be permitted to follow her hereafter whither she is bound. She so far transcends all human excellence, that there is hardly anything mortal about her. She can hardly be said to die, but to pass into a nobler existence, which should make us envious rather than sorrowful. She leaves a world filled with her renown and goes to enjoy eternal life with her God in heaven. I write this with mingled feelings of hope and fear, while the breath is still fluttering within her."

Three days before Isabella had made her will. She settled in this document the succession to the throne in favour of her daughter Joanna, who was married to Philip, Archduke of Austria. She further provided that if Joanna was absent from the country, or in any way incapable of acting, that her husband, Ferdinand, should be sole Regent of Castile during the minority of her grandson, Charles.

## CARDINAL AND INQUISITOR-GENERAL 61

The two principal executors of this will were Ferdinand and Ximenes.

About five weeks later, she executed a codicil, in which, *inter alia*, she directed those who came after her to treat with the utmost kindness and consideration the poor Indians in the *nova terra* so recently discovered by Columbus, urging that every possible means should be taken to convert them to the true faith, with all its attendant and civilising blessings.

Three days afterwards, on the 26th of November 1504, in the thirtieth year of her reign and at the age of fifty-three, Isabella passed away. It does not fall within the scope of our present purpose to consider in any detail the life and character of this remarkable woman. A review of the state of Spain when she died, as compared with its condition when she ascended the throne, provides her epitaph: "Si monumentum requiris, circumspice."

The position of affairs after the death of the Queen was by no means free from difficulty. Ferdinand and Ximenes were confronted with many pressing problems. There can be no doubt that all along they intended that Philip and Joanna should be deprived of the succession.

Philip's foreign connections and almost entire ignorance of Spain were powerful influences working in favour of the ambitious Ferdinand. Outward deference was at first paid to Joanna and her husband. They were proclaimed with befitting ceremony as King and Queen of Castile. However, it was not long before the Cortes was called together and a formal decree made that Joanna was incapable of reigning owing to mental incapacity. This state of affairs had been contemplated by Isabella in her



will; and the next move was the appointment of Ferdinand as Regent. His regency was not destined to last long. Sixteen months after the death of his wife he led to the altar his niece, Germaine de Foix, one of the beauties of the Parisian Court.

The news of this marriage and the treaty with France that accompanied it, caused Philip to realise that his interests were in jeopardy. In company with Joanna he set sail for Spain, and after an adventurous voyage, and a visit to Henry VII. in England, they reached Corunna.

Negotiations were set on foot in which Ximenes took a prominent part, and eventually Ferdinand abandoned his claim to Castile and pledged himself to retire to Aragon.

The reign of Philip and Joanna was a very brief one.

On the 25th of September 1506, Philip died at Burgos, according to general belief, having been removed by poison.

The complicity of Ximenes in this crime has sometimes been suspected, but of real evidence there is none. Moreover, we can safely assume that Ferdinand employed a far less prominent instrument to carry out his wishes and that Ximenes was most unlikely to have been *particeps criminis*. Be this as it may, Ximenes lost no time in taking charge of matters until Ferdinand returned. He acted with the utmost firmness and decision. By every effort of intimidation, or of persuasion, he rallied the nobles to the cause of Ferdinand, and summoning Vianelli, a famous soldier, from Venice, he placed him in command of picked troops, who were at his entire disposal in every measure that he thought necessary to take in the interests



## CARDINAL AND INQUISITOR-GENERAL 63

of Ferdinand. Joanna, meanwhile, gave birth to a daughter, and six months later Ferdinand arrived at Valencia, being welcomed by the ever faithful Archbishop. Proceedings now moved with comparative rapidity, and some eighteen months afterwards Joanna was finally imprisoned as insane. It is difficult to say whether Philip as a husband, or Ferdinand as a father, have earned the greater condemnation for this prolonged and wicked intrigue.

During the five years under review, there are two outstanding incidents in the life of Ximenes which call for notice ; the first, the conferment on him by Pope Julius II. of the cardinal's hat, and the second, his appointment as Inquisitor-General of Castile.

Ferdinand secured his admission to the Sacred College during a visit to Naples, and on the 17th of May 1507 the formal appointment was published at Rome. Ferdinand himself took back the red cap, and, acting on behalf of the Pope, duly invested Ximenes at a solemn service held at Mahamudum in September of the same year. Gomez tells us that this appointment gave the greatest possible satisfaction throughout Spain. The new cardinal was felt by his countrymen to have abundantly justified this high honour at the hands of the Supreme Pontiff.

About this time, Ferdinand conferred upon him the dignity of Inquisitor-General of Castile, intimating the appointment in an eulogistic letter under his own hand.

The horrors of the administration of the Inquisition in Spain have justly earned the condemnation of history, and it is necessary, therefore, to examine the record of Ximenes in this connection.

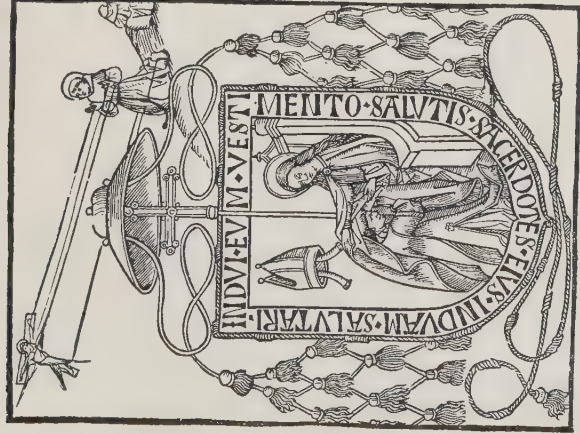
Pope Gregory IX. is responsible for the formal introduction of the Inquisition into Spain in the year 1235, a year or two later than its establishment in either France or Italy. As far as Castile is concerned, it never flourished, and at the end of the fourteenth century practically did not exist.

The circumstances under which Isabella consented to its revival in her dominions are worthy of consideration. The *causa causans* was undoubtedly greed and envy of the growing wealth acquired by the Jews.

When the Goths were conquered by the Arabs, the Jews were already a considerable and important part of the community. They had much in common with the invaders, and the same toleration that was extended to the Gothic Christians by the Arabs was also shared by the Jews. As a matter of fact, the "Koran" expressly provides for the protection of the "people of the book," as the Jews were termed, although with Oriental shrewdness such protection was subject to the payment of tribute. Under these circumstances, and being in a state of comparative security, the Jew flourished in Spain, as he did everywhere else under similar conditions. Clever and exceedingly ambitious, he monopolised the highest offices in local municipal life and, engaging in all kinds of lucrative trading, amassed considerable wealth. It is not difficult to understand how the ease-loving, if not lazy, Castilian became exceedingly envious of his Hebrew neighbour. Many of these Jews were nominal converts to Christianity, and it was their indifference to their adopted religion that gave the heresy hunters their opportunity.

The Dominicans, who had been closely connected with

PLATE XI.



*Vita et processus sancti thome  
cantuariensis martyris su-  
per libertate ecclesiastica.*

REPRODUCTION (REDUCED) OF TITLE-PAGE OF  
THE "VITA ET PROCESSUS SANCTI THOME  
CANTUARIENSIS," SALAMANCA, J. GYSER,  
1506.

PLATE XII.



*Scala spiritualis sancti  
Joannis Climaci.*

REPRODUCTION (REDUCED) OF TITLE-PAGE  
OF THE "SCALA SPIRITUALIS" OF ST  
JOHN CLIMACUS, TOLEDO, P. HAGEM-  
BACH, 1505.



## CARDINAL AND INQUISITOR-GENERAL 65

the Inquisition from its earliest days (St Dominic is supposed by some writers to have been the first Grand Inquisitor), petitioned the King and Queen to appoint inquisitors for the detection of heresy throughout their kingdom.

Ferdinand and Isabella gave their consent. Ferdinand was frankly favourable, as he saw visions of prospective plunder, which appealed irresistibly to his avarice and greed. Isabella may have hesitated, but there is no reliable evidence that she was anything but a consenting party. The theory that she acted in this matter under marital constraint is surely negatived when we recall the numerous other matters during her long reign in which she acted in accordance with her own judgment and in absolute opposition to the wishes of Ferdinand. Isabella was a religious bigot of the narrowest type, and while the harshness of the Inquisition might be personally distasteful, she would never hesitate to act when she had persuaded herself that such action would further the cause of the Holy Catholic Church.

In September 1480 two Dominicans were formally appointed as inquisitors, and the modern Inquisition in Spain was a *fait accompli*.

In January 1481 the Inquisition was opened at Seville, and a decree was issued in which certain "signs" were indicated by which the secret Judaism of pretended Christian converts could be detected. The faithful were called upon to keep their eyes open and denounce any they suspected of heresy.

There are two points in connection with this matter which deserve special attention. In the first place, it is obvious

that Ximenes can have had no responsibility at all in the matter. At this particular time he was only an obscure monk, recently released from his imprisonment at Uzeda. As a matter of fact, it was not until nearly eleven years later (1491) that he was appointed Queen's Confessor and commenced his public career.

In the second place, it is to be observed that whatever may have been the future developments of the Inquisition, at its inception it was a piece of purely ecclesiastical machinery. That it was afterwards found to be a ready instrument for political and civil purposes is undoubted. This is evidenced by the controversies that took place between the kings of Spain and the Vatican for many long years, beginning at the middle of the sixteenth century.

Ximenes, as we have seen, cannot be blamed for the revival of the Inquisition in Spain, and his subsequent share in its operations was, perhaps, more the accident of circumstance than anything else. Immediately after his appointment as Inquisitor-General, with that capacity for organisation which he possessed in a marked degree he divided Castile into inquisitorial provinces, placing an inquisitor at the head of each. As a reformer of abuses he was equally diligent. It appears that certain persons had complained to Rome of alleged cruelties and wrongful acts by members of the Inquisition. Ximenes appointed a Court of Enquiry which, we are told,<sup>1</sup> "after due deliberation pronounced a sentence of acquittal in favour of the sufferers, restored the dead to honour and fame, rebuilt the ruined houses, and ordered all records tending to prejudice the living to be cancelled."

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Rule, *History of the Inquisition*.



## CARDINAL AND INQUISITOR-GENERAL 67

There is one incident in connection with the Inquisition for which Ximenes must bear full responsibility, namely, its introduction into the New World.

Again, an appeal was made by the *new Christians* to Ferdinand that in any proceedings conducted by the Holy Office the procedure might be the same as in other courts and the accused be confronted with his accuser. They made Ferdinand the offer of a large sum of money if he would grant the prayer of this petition. Ferdinand, who was needing money at the time for his war against Navarre, was disposed to give his consent. Ximenes, however, intervened, and calculating correctly on the disposition of the King, promised him a larger sum out of the revenues of his See if he would withhold such consent. Ferdinand, it is needless to say, accepted the higher bid and refused the concession.

In 1516 Ximenes was again responsible for a refusal to a similar request addressed to Charles V.

Estimates have been made of the number of persons burnt at the stake while Ximenes was Inquisitor-General, but whether or not his record was better or worse than his predecessors, it is surely unnecessary to dilate upon the horrors of the Holy Office. They have all been recorded with a fidelity which leaves very little to the imagination. Llorente, the historian of the Spanish Inquisition, has painted the picture in lurid colours. Allowance, however, has never been adequately made for the spirit of the times. It is easy, after an interval of four centuries, to hold up to the execration of mankind the doings of a religious fanatic like the Dominican, Tomas de Torquemada, but *autres temps, autres mœurs*, and it is possible, nay,

probable, that after a similar interval of time the religious intolerance of the twentieth century, as shown, for example, in the Kikuyu controversy, may seem to those who come after us, from a moral standpoint, to be scarcely less reprehensible.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE CONQUEST OF ORAN

[1508-1509]

THE statesman and ecclesiastic for the time being gives place to the soldier. For some time Ximenes had been very desirous of leading a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. With this end in view he had negotiated with the kings of Portugal and England. Unfortunately the project fell through and his hopes were disappointed. Under these circumstances his eyes turned nearer home, and he pressed Ferdinand to proceed once more against the infidels in Africa. A previous expedition had been made in 1505 directed against Mazarquivir, a port on the Barbary coast immediately opposite Carthage. The Moors, after a stubborn defence, had been forced to capitulate, and the Spaniards, taking possession of the town, obtained a footing on African soil. Ferdinand had been content not to seek further territorial acquisitions in that direction, but Ximenes, with the double incentive of a strong belief in colonial expansion and a very real religious zeal for the conversion of heretics, had only awaited a favourable opportunity for the prosecution of his designs.

The opportunity arose in this manner. The Spanish Governor of Mazarquivir, in one of his numerous

expeditions against the neighbouring Moors, had been ambushed with his party and only escaped himself with the greatest difficulty. This incident, coupled with recurring raids by the Moors against the coast of Spain, and their capture of Spanish Christians, whom they treated with the utmost barbarity, aroused the wrathful indignation of Ximenes. By undertaking himself to finance the expedition, he again played upon Ferdinand's readiness to countenance any operation from which he would derive benefit at the expense of someone else. He may also have been actuated by a desire to get Ximenes, whose power in the national councils was at its zenith, conveniently out of the way. Ferdinand was not a man able or willing to share popularity with anyone. Naturally of a jealous disposition, the influence of Ximenes upon Isabella had always irked him, and there is little reason to doubt that he was quite prepared to drop the pilot, if a convenient opportunity presented itself.

Oran, the town against which the proposed expedition was to be directed, was a seaport a little distance from Mazarquivir, and at this time a flourishing commercial town.<sup>1</sup> Climbing up the foot of a hill, it had been very strongly fortified by the Moors and was considered by them impregnable.

Ximenes had obtained from Vianelli, an Italian engineer, a plan of the town and surveys of the coast.

Gonsalvo de Cordova ("the Great Captain") was consulted as to the plan of campaign. Ximenes would gladly

<sup>1</sup> The town, which still exists, is about 260 miles by rail from Algiers and has a population of about 75,000. It exports alfa, iron ore, and cereals.

have entrusted the actual command of the expedition to him, but this did not suit Ferdinand, who appointed Ximenes as Commander-in-Chief, with Pedro Navarro, one of Gonsalvo's generals, as second in command.

The necessary preparations were made, but not without difficulty. The Spanish nobles were critical, if not hostile. They could not understand "the Great Captain" being left at home and the command entrusted to an ecclesiastic.<sup>1</sup> However, Italian levies were obtained and troops were enlisted in large numbers from both Castile and Aragon. The See of Toledo, in response to a personal appeal from Ximenes, sent a large sum of money as their contribution, and it is interesting to note that Alcalá was specially enthusiastic, contributing both men and money.

Ximenes, however, had still to contend with exasperating delays, the results of plots and intrigues. Navarro, desirous of the chief command, made conflicting suggestions as to the strategy to be employed. The two officials in charge of commissariat and munitions disputed as to the method of transport. The soldiers clamoured for payment in advance. To Ximenes difficulties were only made to be overcome. He reduced his subordinates to obedience, and in the early summer of 1509 the expedition was ready to start. A fleet of galleys and smaller vessels, under one hundred in number, rode at anchor in the harbour of Carthagená. Authorities differ as to the

<sup>1</sup> "Atque ex re, quæ tunc in omnium ore versabatur, occasione capta, rediculum esse passim jactabant, Gonsalum Fernandum tot victoriis in Italia partis, quæ meritò magni imperatoris cognomentum illi peperissent, è bello revocatum, orbiculos quibus preces annumeravi solent, Pintia volvere, antistitem vero Toletanum cædes et lanienam optare" (Gomez, fol. 100).

number of troops employed, but probably it was not less than 5000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry.

Ximenes must indeed have had strange reflections, as he, the one-time humble friar, found himself when over seventy years of age in command of such an expeditionary force. Among the members of his staff were, in addition to Navarro, a bishop named Bastamante, one of his own cousins, the Prefect of Carzola, and Vianelli.

On the 15th May 1509 the fleet set sail, and we are told that on the next day, when the African coast came in view, the hills were dotted with fires inviting the Moors from far and near to repel the invaders.

The ships entered the harbour of Mazarquivir without incident, and Ximenes spent the night in the Governor's castle, perfecting the details of the next day's attack. The strategic key of the situation was a hill between Mazarquivir and Oran, which dominated the latter city. The next morning, after the bulk of the troops had been disembarked, Ximenes rode out of the castle surrounded by some of his staff. He was dressed in his pontifical robes and wore a sword at his side. A Franciscan friar, on a white horse, preceded him, bearing aloft an immense silver cross. Other clerical members of the party in their robes, but wearing swords, accompanied the procession. It must have been an imposing sight. While they marched to join the troops, the stirring words of the well-known hymn, *Vexilla regis*, broke upon the morning air. The aged Cardinal reviewed his men in battle array and addressed them with his accustomed force and eloquence, concluding with the following words: "The long-wished-for day has at length arrived. Soldiers! behold before you the



accursed land : behold the proud enemy who insults you, and now thirsts for your blood. Prove to the world this day, that hitherto it has not been lack of courage on your part, but only the want of a fitting opportunity to avenge the wrongs of your country. As for myself, I wish to be the first in facing every danger, for I have come here determined to conquer, or to die with you, which God forbid. Where can the priests of God find a better place than on the battlefield, fighting for their country and religion ? Many of my noble predecessors in the See of Toledo have given me an example, and have died a glorious death on the field of battle.”<sup>1</sup>

These words of Ximenes profoundly moved his hearers, and on his proposing forthwith to lead them against the foe, we are told that his officers, crowding round, besought him to spare himself this unnecessary danger. Ximenes most reluctantly consented and withdrew again to the castle, where he engaged in earnest prayer that success might attend their arms. A little later he was interrupted by Navarro, who sought his advice as to whether the attack should proceed at once, or, as the troops had scarcely recovered from the effects of their voyage, be deferred until the morrow. Procrastination was never one of the Cardinal’s failings, and he urged Navarro to lead his men on at once to what he assured him was certain victory.<sup>2</sup>

The subsequent advance was rapid and conclusive. The troops stormed the slopes, which they speedily captured.

<sup>1</sup> “Habetis ante oculos, quem tandiu optastis diem,” etc.

<sup>2</sup> “Certa enim mihi spes est, te hodie victoriam magna cum laude reportaturum” (Gomez, fol. 109).

Some well-directed gunnery from the fleet destroyed the principal battery of the town, and the troops on board, joining their comrades on shore, stormed the walls of the town with irresistible fury and, amid shouts of "Santiago and Ximenes," planted their colours on the walls.<sup>1</sup>

No quarter was given, if any was asked, and thousands of the Moors—men, women, and children—were slaughtered by the victorious Spaniards. In due course Navarro sent for Ximenes, who made a triumphal entry into the captured city, where he was acclaimed on all sides as the real conqueror of the heretics. He bore all this with his accustomed humility, which was a great deal more than a mere pose, as he disclaimed any merit of his own and was heard repeating "*Non nobis, Domine, sed nomine tuo da gloriam.*"

A large quantity of booty was seized in the town, including some heavy pieces of cannon. Ximenes took as his share a few manuscripts!

He dedicated the mosques in the city to the true faith, established monasteries for both the Franciscans and Dominicans, and set up a tribunal of the Holy Office. He had not forgotten to send a messenger to Ferdinand to tell him the good news, and was planning a further expedition into the country when he was interrupted by two untoward incidents.

Navarro became rebellious and told the Primate that no army could have two leaders, that Ximenes, now that Oran was captured, was *functus officii* and he had better return to his diocese!

A further blow was in store, and it came, as might have

<sup>1</sup> This scene is depicted in the picture hanging on the wall in the background of the frontispiece.

been expected, from the faithless Ferdinand. Ximenes intercepted a letter from the King to Navarro, in which that monarch instructed Navarro to keep Ximenes in Africa as long as either he or his money were useful. The letter contained other slighting expressions which must have been gall and wormwood to the Cardinal.

Ximenes acted promptly and, leaving Navarro in sole command, immediately returned to Spain with a small retinue. He betook himself to his beloved Alcalá and presented to the University Church of St Ildéfonso the manuscripts and some other articles of interest which he had brought from Oran.

As far as the King was concerned, Ximenes was both hurt and suspicious, and his feelings were accentuated by a difficulty in obtaining repayment from Ferdinand of certain expenses of the campaign which he had promised to reimburse. The King invited him to go to Valladolid to receive the royal congratulations, but ignoring the invitation Ximenes remained at Alcalá, busying himself with the preparation of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.

He did not fail, however, to communicate his views to Ferdinand on the subject of the future government of Oran, and the King was sufficiently wise to follow his advice. Ximenes, then as always, advocated the advantages of colonial expansion, and it was not his fault that later rulers of Spain were supine enough to lose their African possessions.

It was indeed a strange irony of fate that at this particular time both Gonsalvo de Cordova and Ximenes should each experience the ingratitude of Ferdinand and seek retirement from their public activities.

## CHAPTER VIII

### REGENT OF CASTILE, AND LAST DAYS

[1516-1517]

THE strained relations between the King and Ximenes were not improved by another incident which took place at this time. Ferdinand suggested to the Cardinal that he should exchange the Archbishopric of Toledo for the Episcopal See of Saragossa, then held by Alfonso, Ferdinand's natural son. It will be remembered that this was the same ecclesiastic that Ferdinand had urged Isabella to appoint to Toledo at the time of the death of Cardinal Mendoza. Ximenes firmly declined to entertain the proposal and informed the King that he would rather return to his old monastic life. Ferdinand, who appears in most of his dealings with the Cardinal to have had a wholesome fear of proceeding to extremities, did not further press the matter.

Ximenes continued at Alcalá, busying himself in the affairs of his diocese and the improvement and extension of the University. The relations between the two must have improved as time went on, because on the death of the Bishop of Salamanca we find Ximenes soliciting Ferdinand to appoint Francisco Ruiz and being successful in obtaining the appointment for his old friend. While the Cardinal was thus leading an active, if somewhat re-

## REGENT OF CASTILE, AND LAST DAYS 77

tired, life at Alcalá, Ferdinand found his hands fully occupied with the war in Italy and the annexation of Navarre. Naturally of a worrying disposition, his health began to suffer. By his second wife he had a son, who had only lived a few hours. This was a sore blow to his ambitions and thereafter he became a soured and morbid man.

The death of Gonsalvo de Cordova in December 1515 threw all Spain into mourning, and Ferdinand himself only survived him a month. He developed dropsy and heart trouble and passed away on the 23rd January 1516. His testamentary dispositions had been many, and at one time he had nominated Ferdinand, the younger son of his daughter Joanna and the brother of Charles, as Regent of Castile, and his favourite Alfonso, Archbishop of Saragossa, as Regent of Aragon. However, better thoughts prevailed, and on his death-bed he made another will, leaving Charles sole heir to both kingdoms and, after some hesitation, but at the same time paying tribute to his work in generous terms, he appointed Ximenes as sole Regent of Castile.

The Cardinal once again was taken from the peaceful pursuits he loved so well, and, at the age of nearly eighty, placed in a position involving great responsibilities and still greater exertions.

At the very commencement he met with opposition, as Adrian, Dean of Louvain, alleged that he held the nomination at the hands of Charles.

Ximenes was diplomatic, and he agreed to share the Regency until the wishes of Charles could be definitely ascertained. He then paid a visit to the youthful



Ferdinand, and with a view to keeping him out of mischief, and preventing him becoming the centre of any possible disaffection, he brought him back with him and attached him to his own household.

It was at this time that he selected Madrid as the seat of Government, a choice obviously dictated by its central position and the fact that it was one of the cities comprised in his own See of Toledo.

The instructions of Charles regarding the Regency were now available, and it was found that he confirmed the Cardinal's appointment and merely nominated the Dean of Louvain as an ambassador.

The next incident was the solemn proclamation at Madrid of Charles as King. Ximenes circularised all the towns, bidding them do homage to the new monarch. The nobles were restless and rebellious. They urged, with some degree of plausibility, that the rights of Joanna were superior to those of her son. The matter was settled by Ximenes with characteristic skill. Charles was proclaimed King, but his name in all public documents was ordered to be preceded by that of Joanna !

The Regency of Ximenes, short as it was to be, had very little to distinguish it from an absolute monarchy. The old man had ever been accustomed to rule, and age had not dimmed either his inclinations or his powers in this respect. If the nobility imagined that the Regency was to afford them opportunities for licence, which they had not hitherto enjoyed, they were speedily disillusioned.

Ximenes was, in one respect, in a very favoured position. He was the possessor of most ample means, and one of the first things he did was to provide himself with a



by no means inconsiderable body of troops, a potent instrument with which to make the nobles see matters in a reasonable light. He, moreover, struck a blow at the root of the evil. In former times the King had depended upon his nobles to provide men when he required an army. He was in consequence to a large extent in their hands when military operations were necessary.

The Cardinal instituted a form of national military service by enrolling a certain number of recruits from every town in Castile. It was not done without strong opposition from some of the towns, an opposition instigated by the Grantees, who saw only too clearly the diminution in their power which would result. Appeals were made to Charles in Flanders, but Ximenes stood firm and proceeded with his plans. In addition to establishing this form of militia he increased and strengthened the fleet and renovated the Seville dockyards.

The nobles had scarcely recovered from the shock of the Cardinal's new proposals for military service than they were again rudely disturbed by a drastic scheme of reform, directed against the number of crown pensions which they enjoyed and the amount of crown lands which they had acquired. Once more they were up in arms and a deputation of Grantees waited upon Ximenes. The story is told, and, whether it is true or not, it is certainly characteristic of the man, that on their rudely demanding by what right he acted in this way, or in fact was exercising the powers of Regent at all, he called them to the window of the room where the interview took place and, pointing to some of his soldiers and artillery, he said: "Behold my authority for governing Castile on behalf of the King, my

lord and master." We can well understand that the argument was more or less conclusive. As far as was possible he abolished all the crown pensions that had been created prior to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and devoted the proceeds to the expenditure necessary for the new militia and for the provision of munitions and armaments.

All this was carried out, not only in the face of considerable opposition at home, but under a constant fire of criticism from the Flemish ministers of Charles. Ambassadors were sent from Flanders to work with him. He received them politely, and afterwards uniformly ignored them.

At this time an attempt was made by John D'Albret to regain the kingdom of Navarre. This attempt was quickly nipped in the bud by the prompt action of Ximenes, who afterwards fortified Pampelona, the capital of Navarre, but destroyed the fortifications in several of the other towns which he could not afford either to keep permanently garrisoned or allow to be occupied by the inhabitants, who were in many cases favourably disposed to their former king.

Troubles with Portugal and an abortive expedition into Africa against Barbarossa, King of Algiers and Tunis, kept the hands of the Cardinal fully occupied, and it was not until the completion of the first year of his Regency that affairs in Castile were in anything like a settled condition.

We may pause here to deal with one particular question which had always exercised his mind. The discovery of the New World by Columbus had been an event of such far-reaching importance that it is not surprising that the



CARDINAL XIMENES.

[From a medallion portrait.]



Cardinal should be keenly interested in everything that concerned the welfare of the inhabitants of the new continent. The developments in America had practically been concurrent with the period covered by his own public life, as Columbus had made his first voyage at the time that Ximenes was appointed Confessor to Isabella. There is little doubt that he was largely responsible for the Christian Mission to the Indians, in which his friend Ruiz and others took part in 1502.

Now that he was Regent, he determined to investigate the treatment of these Indians, as to which most serious and well-founded complaints had reached his ears. He appointed clerical commissioners to proceed to America, and drew up a code of regulations for their guidance in dealing with the natives. These regulations were of the most complete and detailed description and were designed to secure for the inhabitants all the benefits and advantages enjoyed by a civilised and Christian community. He also published a decree forbidding the importation into America from Africa of negro slaves. The commissioners on their arrival found themselves confronted by the strong opposition of the Spanish colonists, and eventually the matters in dispute were referred to Charles, but Ximenes had in the meantime passed away before he had the opportunity of justifying his proposals to his royal master, or of supporting the views of his commissioners.

The year 1517 was destined to be a most eventful one in Spanish history. The growing exactions of the Flemish Court were bitterly resented throughout Spain. The Spanish people were tired of seeing their country used as a milch cow for the benefit of the foreigner. Disorder broke

out in several of the large towns and demands were made for Charles to visit Spain and for the Cortes to be assembled. Ximenes cordially associated himself with these requests and wrote a strong letter urging Charles to make drastic changes in the appointment of his ministers and to visit Spain at the earliest possible opportunity.

The Flemish ministers, rightly apprehensive that the influence of Ximenes upon the King would not be likely to favour their pretensions, used every pretext to delay his departure. Meanwhile, Ximenes had much to contend with at home. Constant intrigues against his government, a dispute with Rome as to ecclesiastical tithes, and a growing popular dissatisfaction at the absence of the King, which reacted unfavourably against himself.

The old man was doubtless weary and probably no one would have more gladly laid down the reins of office. A serious illness which overtook him at Aranda, by some thought to be the result of poison, left him sick unto death. He rallied, however, on learning that Charles had arrived in Asturia, and on the 4th October 1517 he was able to celebrate with the inmates of the monastery in which he was staying the feast of St Francis.

Charles corresponded with him and on more than one occasion expressed to his courtiers his sense of obligation to Ximenes for all he had done for him and his kingdom. The Flemish ministers took alarm at this and used every possible pretext to delay the meeting between the two men.

The Cortes was summoned to meet at Valladolid, in spite of the representations of Ximenes that Toledo was more central and suitable. The Cardinal was now staying at



Roa, close to Valladolid, and although extremely ill, he made all the necessary arrangements for the reception of the King and the assembling of the Cortes. It was at this stage that Charles committed one of the basest acts of ingratitude that even a king had ever perpetrated. He addressed a letter to Ximenes in which, while thanking him for his past services, he intimated that he would no longer deprive him of the rest he needed and would consequently relieve him of his duties. This letter of dismissal probably never came to the knowledge of Ximenes, or he might well have echoed the words of the Psalmist: "Put not your trust in princes." We may hope that Gomez is correct when he assures us that the Cardinal was far too ill to permit of the callous contents of this letter being communicated to him. On the 8th of November 1517, after dictating a letter to Charles which he was too feeble to sign, in which he invited his support for the University of Alcalá, and having received extreme unction, he passed away in his eighty-second year.

He was buried in the College of St Ildéfonso at Alcalá, amid signs of truly national sorrow. In 1519 a magnificent marble monument was erected over his remains at a cost of some 20,100 gold ducats. (*Vide* Appendix B, No. 6.)

In the year 1857 the College of Ildéfonso, having fallen into decay after the University had been removed to Madrid in 1836, this monument and the Cardinal's remains were removed to the Church de San Justo y Pastor at Alcalá and a fine mausoleum constructed for their reception.

An interesting account of the ceremonies on this occasion

appears in a pamphlet published at Madrid in the same year (*vide* Appendix B, No. 69), from which it is clear that the signal services of Ximenes to his country and to his Church will through all the ages continue to be held in affectionate regard and grateful memory by his fellow-countrymen.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE VERDICT OF POSTERITY

WHAT of the man and what of his message ? It is easy to see the innumerable questions that are raised by such a career.

We are told that in his personal appearance he was of a sallow complexion, with thin and sharp features and small penetrating eyes. His expression was grave, if not severe. Of more than average height, his appearance was at once striking and commanding. As an ecclesiastic, he was a disciple of the best school of medieval asceticism. He was zealous to a fault in the observance of all the devotional exercises of his religion. It is recorded that in his early days, when he was living at the Convent of "Our Lady of Castanar," he spent days and nights in a lonely hut, which he had built for himself, and where, scourge in hand and covered with a hair shirt, he divided his time between the study of his Bible and the observance of his religious rites. This austerity of life was characteristic of his whole career. As an archbishop, he followed the apostolic injunction, and by precept and example was "one that ruleth well his own house." A Franciscan by training, he emulated St Francis, abjuring luxury, nay even the commonest comforts of everyday life. It was a timely protest against the pomp and splendour in matters of dress and living, which the Spaniards had so readily

acquired from their Moorish neighbours. He carried out his views in this respect to such an extent, that complaints were lodged at Rome that his mode of life impaired the dignity of his high office. Pope Alexander VI. thought it necessary to issue a brief in which he gently chided Ximenes, and told him that too great plainness and simplicity were as great faults in a prelate of the Church as undue magnificence and display. Truly an unique document to issue from the Holy See! The Archbishop bowed obediently to the command, and compromised with his conscience by wearing his splendid robes of office over the coarse garb of the Franciscan Order.

He economised time, as he did everything else, sleeping only for a few hours every night. A man of no amusements, he found his recreation in debating difficult theological problems with his clerical brethren and in confounding the arguments of some less nimble brain. The bore and the gossip received short shift at his hands. It is said that he always kept an open book at his side, and when a visitor outstayed his welcome he quietly took it up and went on reading!

As regards his ecclesiastical patronage, he was scrupulously particular, and derived the greatest pleasure from advancing young and often obscure clergy to positions of responsibility, in cases where they had exhibited capacity and real worth in more humble spheres of work. To canvass him for an appointment inevitably resulted in an unqualified refusal. At a time when patronage was exercised to reward some service rendered to the patron, or to provide for some favourite, or the issue of some irregular union, his example in this matter was of the

highest service in helping to preserve to some extent at least the proper and decent administration of the work of the Church.

A man of the strictest purity in his personal life, no breath of scandal was ever associated with his name.

As a matter of fact, he was almost a misogynist and, with the exception of Isabella herself, he took special pains to avoid the most ordinary dealings or association with the other sex.

As a Churchman, he placed the interests of the Church before everything else, and to this fidelity to his religion, because his Church and his religion were synonymous terms, is due to a large extent, both his successes and also any of his failures. The success of his ecclesiastical administration during the twenty-two years he was Archbishop of Toledo is undoubted. He left the Church infinitely better than he found it, and by force of will and character to a large extent imposed his own high standards upon his brethren. It was this fidelity to religious principle that led him into what we would term the excesses of the Inquisition, which also induced him to perpetrate undoubted cruelties upon the Jews, and permitted him to act the part of a Vandal in the matter of the wholesale destruction of the Arabic books and manuscripts. The more we emphasise these errors, the greater is the necessity imposed upon us to explain his great fame throughout Christendom, the long years during which he wielded undisputed authority, and the undoubted hold he possessed over the religious life of the Spanish people.

As a statesman his sense of duty dominated his every action. A fearless disregard for consequences carried

him through situations where men of a less courageous mould would have hesitated and would have been lost. He realised, and no one better, that the outstanding need of the fifteenth century was a firm, if not an arbitrary form of government. With no delusions as to the advantages of a democracy, he encouraged the King and Queen to ignore the Cortes. It was very rarely called together throughout their long reign, and then only for the purpose of voting supplies for several years ahead. A conservative by instinct, he was wiser than our own statesmen of the early nineteenth century and recognised to the full the advantages of colonial expansion, which he fostered by every means in his power.

His passion for economy, his hatred of unnecessary expenditure, were traits in his character which the statesmen of to-day might imitate with advantage.

In an age when personal profit was the end and aim of most public men, he counted himself merely a trustee to dispense his wealth for the benefit of the poor and needy, and for schemes of great public and educational benefit.

A despot, perhaps, but he created a despotism which left Spain stronger, richer, and more feared than she had ever been before, or has ever been since.

As a soldier he was in his element, and he has told us himself that the smell of gunpowder was more grateful to him than the sweetest perfumes of Arabia.<sup>1</sup> A born leader of men, he commanded his troops with the same capacity and discretion with which he ruled his diocese. His actual

<sup>1</sup> "Cui Ximenius, pone metum (inquit) ô dux, hic enim sumus et sulphurea nubes, jucundius mihi et gratia olet, quam Arabum pretiosissimi odores."



military experience was of the slightest, but in one respect he was far in advance of his times. He was the first to recognise the supreme necessity for a standing army as a weapon of defence in the hands of the central government and of the futility of having to rely on the goodwill or the caprice of individual nobles when an army was required.

As a patron of learning, his name is written imperishably upon the annals of his times. A man of letters in his interests, rather than in any personal contributions of his own, he did a far greater service to the literature of Spain, by founding the University of Alcalá and producing the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, than any other man of his age.

It has been the custom of most of his biographers to compare his life and character with that of Richelieu. The resemblance is at the best a very superficial one. The falseness of the analogy is obvious, when we remember that Richelieu died detested by the French, passing from the stage "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung." Ximenes, on the other hand, died beloved and revered by all his countrymen—a love and a reverence which found expression more than a century after his death in an attempt to secure his beatification at the hands of the Pope. The verdict of posterity gives him an honoured place upon the roll of the world's great men and numbers him among that little company of the immortal dead, who, dreaming dreams and seeing visions far beyond the narrow horizon of the times in which they lived, were able, by forceful personality and strenuous activities, to influence and shape, so largely, and on the whole so well, the life and destinies of their own particular day and generation.



## APPENDIX A

### COLLECTIONS KNOWN TO CONTAIN A COPY OF THE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT BIBLE

| No. | COUNTRY        | PLACE  | COLLECTION     | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE   |
|-----|----------------|--------|----------------|--|
| 1   | United Kingdom | London | British Museum | <i>A copy of the issue with special title-page.</i> <sup>1</sup> Bequeathed to the Museum by Dr Shute Barrington (1734-1826), sometime Bishop of Durham. The copy lacks two leaves of errata in Vol. I. It was formerly in the library of Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553-1617), the famous bibliophile, and is bound in olive morocco with the arms and monogram of De Thou and his second wife, Gasparde de la Chastre. [Press Mark C. 17. C. 7-12.] |
| 2   | "              | "      | " "            | This copy formerly belonged to Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594-1612), the eldest son of James I. It bears the autographs on the titles of the Earl of Arundel and John, Lord Lumley. Lumley, who was a son-in-law of the Earl of Arundel, had sold his library to Henry in 1609. Bound in old calf, rebacked, with the arms of Henry on the covers. [Press Mark 340. d. 1.]   |
| 3   | "              | "      | " "            | A copy "e libris Cesaris De Missy Berolnensis, Londini, 1743," bound in russia with the arms of George III. [Press Mark 1 f. 5-10.]  |
| 4   | "              | "      | " "            | From the collection of the Rev. Theodore Williams, bound in straight-grained red morocco with his crest. Forms part of the collection bequeathed to the British Museum by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville. [Press Mark G. 11951-6.]  |

<sup>1</sup> For particulars of the special title-page *vide* p. 36.

| No. | COUNTRY        | PLACE  | COLLECTION                        | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIPS, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE   |
|-----|----------------|--------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 5   | United Kingdom | London | British and Foreign Bible Society | A slightly imperfect copy, given to the Society by William Blair, the well-known surgeon (1766-1822).   |
| 6   | "              | "      | Sion College                      | An imperfect copy, lacking the Vocabulary volume. The other volumes were presented to the College by the Rev. John Ridley, 1650; the Rev. Thomas Jacomb, minister of St Martin's, Ludgate, 1654; and the Rev. Thomas Watson, minister of St Stephen's, Walbrook, 1657.  |
| 7   | "              | "      | The Law Society                   | <i>A copy of the issue with special title-page.</i> Imperfect, with several leaves missing and the title to the Vocabulary volume in facsimile. This copy was formerly in the collection of Dr Adam Clarke, the well-known bibliographer (1762-1832). It was subsequently acquired by the Rev. Joseph Mendham, M.A. (1769-1856), whose collection of incunabula and rare books was presented to the Incorporated Law Society of the United Kingdom in 1871. Bound in blue morocco, with the Royal arms of Spain on five of the volumes, it is believed to have been purloined by British soldiers from the Royal Library at Madrid. The Vocabulary volume was added at a later date and did not form part of the original set. This particular copy is no doubt the one referred to by Dr Adam Clarke in <i>Bibliotheca Sussexiana</i> (pp. 12-21). |
| 8   | "              | "      | Westminster Abbey Library         | A copy presented in 1631 by Thomas Montford. In good condition, bound in 17th-century calf, with clasps.  |

| No. | COUNTRY        | PLACE   | COLLECTION                            | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE   |
|-----|----------------|---------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 9   | United Kingdom | London  | King's College (University of London) | Bound in red morocco, gold tooling on covers. Presented to the College by William Marsden.   |
| 10  | "              | "       | Elkan Nathan Adler                    | Imperfect, Vols. I., II. and IV. only.   |
| 11  | "              | "       | Miss R. B. Braithwaite                | Formerly in the possession of S. P. Tregelles, the well-known textual critic, having been purchased by him in 1843.  |
| 12  | "              | "       | Dr M. Gaster                          | Imperfect and Vocabulary volume lacking. Bound leather over oak boards—a tall copy.  |
| 13  | "              | "       | Dr Hertz (the Chief Rabbi)            | Imperfect, Vol. IV. only.  |
| 14  | "              | "       | James P. R. Lyell                     | From the collection of the late Dr W. Aldis Wright of Cambridge, the Secretary to the Old Testament Revision Company (1870-1884). Two leaves of errata in Vol. I. missing, but otherwise complete. The New Testament volume, which is in contemporary stamped calf over wooden boards, is a large and well preserved copy and was at one time in a monastic library at Antwerp. The remaining volumes have been rebound in 18th-century straight-grained red morocco, and were at one time in the library of John, Baron Carteret of Hawnes, a descendant of the first Lord Granville. |
| 15  | "              | "       | S. D. Sassoon                         | The Old Testament and Vocabulary volumes bound russia, rebacked. The New Testament volume was formerly in the collection of H. C. Hoskier, the textual critic.   |
| 16  | "              | Bristol | Municipal Public Libraries            | Slightly imperfect, in old binding (restored). Presented by Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York (1546-1628).  |

| No. | COUNTRY        | PLACE     | COLLECTION             | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE  |
|-----|----------------|-----------|------------------------|---|
| 17  | United Kingdom | Cambridge | Corpus Christi College | Bound in three volumes, presented to the College by Archbishop Parker (1504-1575).  |
| 18  | "              | "         | King's College         | This copy (bound by C. Kalthoeber), was formerly in a monastery at Tours and afterwards formed part of the library of E. C. Hawtrey, Head Master of Eton from 1834 to 1852.                         |
| 19  | "              | "         | Pembroke College       | Imperfect, New Testament wanting. Old 16th-century binding (re-backed), with the arms of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, who presented it to the College, 1567.                            |
| 20  | "              | "         | St John's College      | Bound in polished calf, gilt. Presented in 1901 by Clarence Esme Stuart.  |
| 21  | "              | "         | " "                    | Imperfect, lacking Vocabulary. Presented by Oliver Dande in 1635.   |
| 22  | "              | "         | Trinity College        | <i>A copy of the issue with special title-page. "Ex dono dignissimi viri Mri Sherman, S.T.B., nec. non SStae hujus atque individuae Trinitatis Collegii Socii, 1642."</i>                           |
| 23  | "              | "         | " "                    | Another copy, formerly in the collection of Matthew Raine (1760-1811), a Fellow of this College.  |
| 24  | "              | "         | Queens' College        | Bound in four volumes, calf, gilt.  |
| 25  | "              | "         | University Library     | Presented by C. Tunstall, Bishop of London (1479-1559).   |
| 26  | "              | "         | " "                    | Bound in three volumes from the library of John Moore (1646-1714), Bishop of Norwich and Ely. His library, famous throughout Europe, was bought by George I. and presented to Cambridge University. |
| 27  | "              | Dublin    | Marsh's Library        | Purchased from the collection of Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699), Bishop of Worcester.   |



| No. | COUNTRY        | PLACE       | COLLECTION                                      | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE   |
|-----|----------------|-------------|---|--|
| 28  | United Kingdom | Dublin      | Trinity College                                 | Purchased in 1805 and formerly in the collection of Dr J. A. Danz (1654-1727), Professor of Theology at Jena.  |
| 29  | "              | Durham      | Bishop Cosin's Library                          | Vol. I. only. Formerly belonging to Thomas Barlow (1607-1691), Bishop of Lincoln, and Richard Trevor (1707-1771), Bishop of Durham, who presented it to the library.   |
| 30  | "              | Edinburgh   | Advocates' Library                              | Bound in 18th-century mottled calf, a good copy. Bought by the library from David Lyon of London, 3rd February 1730. "Ex bib. Martiniana."   |
| 31  | "              | Glasgow     | United Free Church of Scotland, Glasgow College | A made-up copy. Vol. I. presented by Rev. W. Laughton, D.D., of Greenock.  |
| 32  | "              | "           | University Library (Ewing Bible Collection)     | Presented by William Ewing, the Glasgow bibliographer.   |
| 33  | "              | Grimsby     | Rev. W. M. L. Evans, M.A.                       | Old Testament volumes only. Formerly in the Bishop's Palace Library, Cordova.  |
| 34  | "              | Hereford    | Cathedral Library                               | Old Testament only, bound in two volumes, old stamped calf over boards with remains of clasps, repaired and rebound. "Monasterii Dunelmensis ex dono Roberto Ridler, 1532," is a manuscript note on the title of Vol. I. |
| 35  | "              | Londonderry | Library of United Dioceses of Derry and Raphoe  | Imperfect. Two volumes of the Old Testament.   |
| 36  | "              | Manchester  | The John Rylands Library                        | The Spencer copy bound in citron morocco, a stamp on title with arms of Louis XIV.   |
| 37  | "              | "           | Victoria University of Manchester               | Presented in 1876 by Canon Evans of Birmingham, and formerly in the collection of Dr J. Prince Lee (1804-1869), the first Bishop of Manchester.  |

| No. | COUNTRY        | PLACE  | COLLECTION                             | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE   |
|-----|----------------|--------|--|--|
| 38  | United Kingdom | Oxford | All Souls College (Codrington Library) | Bound in red morocco, no record of previous ownership.   |
| 39  | "              | "      | The Bodleian Library.                  | Bound in full calf, with the Bodley arms, wormed throughout and slightly defective.  |
| 40  | "              | "      | " "                                    | Imperfect, lacking Vocabulary volume and some leaves missing in Vol. I. Bound in old stamped vellum with the bookplate of the Hon. Fredk. North.   |
| 41  | "              | "      | " "                                    | Bequeathed by the late Professor Ingram Bywater. Bound modern vellum. The following MS. note appears on title: "Ex eleemosynis piorum emit Fr. Innocentius Pencini Venetiis Magister Anno D. 1663 pro suo conventu SS. Joannis et Pauli Venetiarum."   |
| 42  | "              | "      | Christ Church                          | A made-up copy. The Old Testament and Vocabulary volumes are bound in three and were presented to the College by Dr Samuel Fell (1584-1649), Dean of Christ Church. The New Testament volume was presented by Dr J. B. Morris (1812-1880), Fellow and Hebrew Lecturer of Exeter College, who afterwards joined the Church of Rome. |
| 43  | "              | "      | St John's College                      | Bound in calf with the arms of Sir Thomas Tresham (1543-1605), by whom it was presented to the College.  |
| 44  | "              | "      | Lincoln College                        | Slightly wormed and rebound. Presented by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln and Visitor to the College (1521-1547).   |
| 45  | "              | "      | Magdalen College                       | Imperfect, Vol. I. lacking several leaves. The New Testament volume in old stamped binding with remains of clasps. Presented by Edward Lee (1482-1544), Archbishop of York.  |



REPRODUCTION (REDUCED) OF TITLE-PAGE FROM THE LIFE BY  
GOMEZ PUBLISHED AT ALCALÁ IN 1569.



| No. | COUNTRY        | PLACE      | COLLECTION                       | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE   |
|-----|----------------|------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 46  | United Kingdom | Oxford     | Merton College                   | <i>A copy of the issue with special title-page.</i> Imperfect, New Testament volume wanting.   |
| 47  | "              | "          | Queen's College                  | Slightly imperfect. Presented in 1599 by Henry Robinson, Bishop of Carlisle.   |
| 48  | "              | St Andrews | University Library               | Imperfect, lacking Vocabulary volume. Bound in three volumes. Presented in 1612 by Patrick Young, librarian to James I.  |
| 49  | "              | Wisbech    | Lord Peckover of Wisbech         | Imperfect, lacking Vocabulary volume. Bound in modern black morocco.   |
| 50  | Denmark        | Copenhagen | Royal Library                    | Bound green morocco, formerly in collection of P. F. Suhm (d. 1897), the Danish historian.   |
| 51  | France         | Amiens     | Bibliothèque Communale           | Bound sheep. A manuscript note indicates that this copy was in the Monastery of Corbie in 1671.  |
| 52  | "              | Chantilly  | La Bibliothèque du Musée Condé   | This copy, <i>printed on vellum</i> , is bound in modern morocco by Lewis. Formerly in the collections of Pinelli, MacCarthy and Hibbert; passing into the possession of Mr Frank Hall Standish, who died in Cadiz in 1840, it was bequeathed by that gentleman to King Louis Philippe, who in turn left it to his son, the Duc D'Aumale, the founder of this library. |
| 53  | "              | Grenoble   | Bibliothèque Municipale          | From the library of Jean de Coulet, a former Bishop of Grenoble.   |
| 54  | "              | Lyons      | Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon | Bound citron morocco with arms of Camille de Neufville de Villeroy (1606-1693), Archbishop of Lyons.   |
| 55  | "              | Paris      | Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal        | Bound yellow calf. Presented by M. de Panbury, founder of the library in the 18th century.   |
| 56  | "              | "          | " "                              | Bound red morocco in three volumes. Formerly in the possession of Jean de Tort, Docteur de Sorbonne. Acquired by the library at the time of the Revolution.  |

| No. | COUNTRY | PLACE     | COLLECTION                    | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE  |
|-----|---------|-----------|-------------------------------|---|
| 57  | France  | Paris     | Bibliothèque Nationale        | From the library of Henry II. with his arms.  |
| 58  | "       | "         | " "                           | Bound in 16th-century brown calf. Vocabulary bound as Vol. I. Previous ownership unknown, but has been in library since end of 18th century.  |
| 59  | "       | "         | Bibliothèque Mazarine         | Copy not available for inspection at time of inquiry. [Press Mark 551-A.F.]   |
| 60  | Germany | Berlin    | Royal Library                 | Bound in red morocco with the arms of Pope Benedict XIII.   |
| 61  | "       | "         | " "                           | Bound in 16th - century German stamped binding in three volumes.  |
| 62  | "       | Breslau   | University Library            | No particulars available.   |
| 63  | "       | Dresden   | Royal Library                 | Bound in red morocco, with ex-libris of Frederick Augustus III. of Saxony.  |
| 64  | "       | Göttingen | Royal University Library      | Bound in 18th-century leather. No information as to previous ownership.   |
| 65  | "       | Munich    | Royal Court and State Library | Bound vellum in five volumes. Acquired in 1803 and formerly in a Bavarian monastery at Poling.  |
| 66  | "       | "         | " "                           | Old Testament only. Bound in red morocco with the arms of the Grand-ducal Court Library of Mannheim. This copy formerly belonged to George D'Aubusson de la Feuillade (1649-1668), Bishop of Embrun (France). |
| 67  | Holland | Leyden    | University Library            | Bound in three volumes. Acquired in 1600, previous ownership unknown.   |
| 68  | Italy   | Milan     | National Library              | A rebound and cut-down copy formerly in the Jesuit Library in the Brera Palace.   |
| 69  | "       | "         | The Ambrosian Library         | Bound vellum. Bought from or presented by the Congregation of the Oblati of S. Carlo, whose house adjoins the library.  |



## APPENDIX A

99

| No. | COUNTRY     | PLACE     | COLLECTION                        | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE  |
|-----|-------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 70  | Italy       | Parma     | Biblioteca Palatina               | Bound in leather with the stamp "Bibliothecæ Regiæ Parmensis." Originally in the possession of Collegium Parisiensis Soc. Jesus and purchased for this library by its founder, Father Paciandi, in the second half of the 18th century. |
| 71  | "           | Rome      | Biblioteca Casanetense            | Bound in morocco by Le Gascon, with the arms of Mathieu Molé, President à mortier au Parlement de Paris (1584-1656) and acquired in 1676 by Cardinal Casanete.  |
| 72  | "           | "         | The Vatican Library               | A copy <i>printed on vellum</i> , bound in red morocco, gilt back with the arms of Pope Pius VI. (1775-1799). [N.B.—This is not a copy of the issue with special title-page.]   |
| 73  | "           | "         | " "                               | Bound in brown calf, slightly imperfect.  |
| 74  | "           | Turin     | National Library                  | Bound vellum, slightly imperfect. Acquired in 1720 from the library of the Dukes of Savoy. It bears an interesting contemporary manuscript note on the New Testament title: "Emit Mercurius Saluciis 2 Jullii 1579 aureo coronato."     |
| 75  | "           | Venice    | Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco | Bound vellum, acquired in 1873 from the Ferrara Library. Bears a 16th-century ex-libris "Guasparis de Sardis."  |
| 76  | Portugal    | Lisbon    | University Library                | No particulars.   |
| 77  | "           | "         | Biblioteca Nacional               | No particulars.   |
| 78  | Spain       | Madrid    | National Library                  | Acquired from the Royal Library formed by Philip V.   |
| 79  | "           | "         | Biblioteca del Escorial           | Con la magnífica encuadernación hecha en Salamanca para los libros de Felipe II.  |
| 80  | Switzerland | Basle     | University Library                | An imperfect copy.  |
| 81  | Russia      | Petrograd | Imperial Library                  | Bound in five volumes and purchased from F. Muller of Amsterdam in 1857.  |

| No. | COUNTRY.                 | PLACE            | COLLECTION                         | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE   |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 82  | United States of America | Boston           | Public Library                     | Bound vellum. Acquired by purchase in 1862.  |
| 83  | "                        | Cambridge, Mass. | Harvard College Library            | Imperfect, lacking Vocabulary volume. Purchased in 1811. The New Testament volume has an interesting manuscript note "De Nicolas Astam Sacerdote Yngres Anglicani Jesu Anno 1514." This was the year the New Testament was printed.  |
| 84  | "                        | "                | Andover-Harvard Theological School | Bought 1890, the Vocabulary volume being the one missing from the Harvard College set.   |
| 85  | "                        | Chicago          | The Newberry Library               | Bound old mottled calf, gilt. Purchased in 1913 from A. Bull, London.  |
| 86  | "                        | Ithaca, N. Y.    | Professor N. Schmidt               | No particulars.  |
| 87  | "                        | New York         | General Theological Seminary       | <i>A copy of the issue with special title-page.</i> Bound full polished brown calf. Presented in 1827 by John Pintard of New York. Formerly in the Jesuits' College in Montpellier in 1633. Looted during the French Revolution. An offer was made for this copy to London booksellers in 1826, but the offer, being less than the price asked, was refused. If it had been accepted, the copy would have been forwarded with other books in a ship which foundered at sea. The original price asked by the booksellers was subsequently accepted and the volumes arrived in New York in July 1827. The <i>New York Daily Advertiser</i> , announcing the arrival, described the copy as "unique and probably the only one that has ever appeared in the United States." This was a mistake as the Harvard College copy (No. 83) had been purchased in 1811. |

| No. | COUNTRY                  | PLACE           | COLLECTION   | OBSERVATIONS AS TO PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, CONDITION, AND THE LIKE  |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------------|--|---|
| 88  | United States of America | New York        | General Theological Seminary                                 | Imperfect, consisting of Vols. III., IV. and VI. Purchased in 1893 and formerly belonging to Dr W. A. Copinger.                                   |
| 89  | "                        | "               | John Carter Brown Library                                    | Bound calf with the Brown arms and his monogram on back. Mr Brown had this copy in his possession in 1840, but the previous ownership is unknown. |
| 90  | "                        | "               | J. P. Morgan's Library                                       | Bound in olive morocco by Rivière, slightly wormed throughout.  |
| 91  | "                        | "               | New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations | Lenox copy, bound by Clarke and Bedford in black morocco. No further particulars.   |
| 92  | "                        | "               | " "  | Astor copy, presented by John Jacob Astor in 1884, bound in purple morocco and bought from Quaritch for £225.                                     |
| 93  | "                        | "               | Union Theological Seminary                                   | No particulars.   |
| 94  | "                        | "               | Jewish Theological Seminary                                  | Purchased from Quaritch (Cat. 305, No. 87).   |
| 95  | "                        | Philadelphia    | Dropsie College  | The Huth copy, bound in modern French calf and purchased by the College in 1915 from Voynich of London.   |
| 96  | "                        | Princeton, N.J. | Princeton University Library                                 | Slightly imperfect, bound vellum over boards. Formerly in the collection of Dr G. Kloss of Frankfurt.   |
| 97  | "                        | "               | Princeton Theological Seminary                               | Bound in sheep and acquired by purchase about 1870.   |

## APPENDIX B

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

*N.B.*—Alvarus Gomez de Castro was the first biographer of Cardinal Ximenes. He was born at St Eualalia, near Toledo, in 1515.

At one time a professor in the University of Alcalá, he was commissioned by the authorities of that University to write a biography of its founder. Facilities of every kind were placed at his disposal and, after several years of research, he produced his life of the Cardinal in 1569. It is a book full of interest and detailed information. A specially fine piece of Latin prose, it has often been employed as a textbook in Spanish schools and colleges. The edition of 1569 is a particularly good specimen of printing from the Press of Andrea de Angulo at Alcalá (*vide* reproduction of title-page, Plate, No. XIV.), and is a book of some scarcity. Almost a century later, a Franciscan of the name of Quintanilla organised an agitation with the object of securing the beatification of Ximenes at the hands of the Pope. The attempt failed, as probably the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome were unable to accept as genuine the alleged miracles, which Quintanilla sets out with more zeal than discretion in his biography.

The best narrative of the Cardinal's life, apart from Gomez, was one written in 1693 by Fléchièr, Bishop of Nismes.

The only attempt in English was written by the Rev. B. Barrett in 1813, and was mainly a sketch founded on Gomez and Fléchièr. Dr Carl Joseph von Hefele, Bishop of Rottenburg, published a life at Tübingen in 1844, but it was largely a defence of the Inquisition from the Roman Catholic point of view. A translation of his work from the German was published in London in 1860.

References to Cardinal Ximenes are to be found in Prescott, Burke, Hume, and other writers on Spanish history.

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[British Museum Press Marks, where known, appear within square brackets.]

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T. F. DIBDIN.

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105. WESTCOTT (B. F.) and HORT (F. J. A.), *The New Testament in the original Greek*, 2 vols., 8vo, Cambridge, 1881.
106. SCRIVENER (F. H. A.), *A plain introduction to the criticism of the New Testament*. Fourth edition, 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1894.
107. GREGORY (C. R.), *Prolegomena to the eighth edition of Tischendorf's Novum Testamentum Græcum*, vol. iii. Lipsiæ, 1894.
108. DARLOW (T. H.) and MOULE (H. F.), *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scriptures*. 2 vols. in 4, 4to. 1903-1911.
109. KENYON (SIR F. G.), *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. Second edition, 8vo. London, 1912.

## APPENDIX C

### HANDLIST OF WORKS PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF CARDINAL XIMENES<sup>1</sup>

1. Missale mixtum alme ecclesie toletane. Toledo, P. Hagembach, 1st June 1499, fol. [Copinger II. 4167; Pastor 12.]
2. Missale Mixtum secundum regulam beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes. Toledo, P. Hagembach, 9th January 1500, fol. [Hain 11336; Proctor 9607; Pastor 15.]
3. Garcia de Villapando—Instruccion de la Vida Christiana. Toledo, P. Hagembach, 25th February 1500, 4to. [Mendez, p. 148, No. 9; Copinger III., p. 310, No. 2628a.]
4. Breviarium sec. regulam beati hysidori. Toledo, P. Hagembach, 25th October 1502, fol. [Pastor 24.]
5. Donati cum commento enarrationibusque Alphonsi camerae vienneñ. Alcalá, 5 de Enero, 1503, 4to. [Garcia 4.]
6. Jhesus Maria. Tratado. Alcalá, L. Polonus, 2nd March 1504, 4to. [Garcia 5.]
7. S. Juan Climaco, Tablas y Escalera Spiritual. Toledo, P. Hagembach, 8th November 1504, fol. [Pastor 31.]
8. S. Joannes Climacus, scala spiritualis. Toledo [P. Hagembach], 3rd January 1505, 4to. [Pastor 35, and see Plate, No. XII.]
9. Liber qui dicitur Angela de Fulginio. Toledo [P. Hagembach], 18th April 1505, 4to. [Pastor 33.]
10. Arnaldus, Revelationes b. Melchiadys. Toledo [P. Hagembach], 31st May 1505, 4to. [Pastor 33, usually found with No. 9.]

<sup>1</sup> [For collations of the books contained in this list reference can be made to the bibliographies given within square brackets after each entry.]

11. Vita et processus Sancti thome cantuariensis. Salamanca, Joannes Gysser, 1506, 4to. [Burger, p. 41, and see Plate, No. XI.]
12. Cancionero de diversas obras de nuevo trobados. Toledo, 16th June 1508, 4to. [Pastor 38.]
13. Carta del Reverendissimo Cardenal de España arcobispo de Toledo. Toledo, 1509, fol. [Pastor 39.]
14. Libro de la bien aventurada sancta Angela de Fulgino. Toledo, 24th May 1510, 4to. [Pastor 40.]
15. I. H. S. Tratado compuesto por el muy reverendo Señor el tostado obispo de Avila . . . de la missa. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 1511, 4to. [Garcia 6.]
16. La Vida de la bien aventurada sancta Caterina de Sena trasladada de latin en castellano por el reverendo maestro fray Antonio de la peña. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 1511, fol. [Garcia 7.]
17. La Vida de la bien aventurada Sancta Caterina . . . y la vida de la bien aventurada soror Joana de orbieto: y de soror Margarita de castello. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 26th June 1511, fol. [Garcia 9.]
18. Obra de las epistolas y oraciones de la bien aventurada virgen Sancta Catherina de sena. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 1512, fol. [Garcia 12.]
19. Obra de agricultura copilada de diversos auctores por Gabriel alonso de herrera. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 1513, fol. [Garcia 14.]
20. Erotemata chrysoloræ. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 1514, 4to. [Garcia 17.]

N.B.—*The Greek type used in this book is the same as in the Complutensian New Testament printed in the same year.*

21. Musæi opusculum de Erone et Leandro (Græce). Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 1514, 4to. [Garcia 18.]

22. Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 1514-1517, 6 vols. fol. [See Ch. IV.]
23. Intonarum Toletanum. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 17th March 1515, fol. [Garcia 20.]
24. Passionarum Toletanum. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, July 1516, fol. [Garcia 23.]
25. Officiarum Toletanum. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar, 17th October 1517, fol. [Garcia 30.]
26. Liber rethoricorum. Alcalá, A. G. de Brocar [1518], fol. [Garcia 36.]

*Contains a dedication by Herrera, in which, among other biographical references, allusion is made to the expedition of Ximenes against Oran and the foundation of the University of Alcalá.*

## ABBREVIATIONS

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- Copinger (W. A.), *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 3 vols. London, 1895-1902, 8vo.
- Garcia (D. J. C.), *Ensayo de una Tipographia Complutense*. Madrid, 1889, 8vo.
- Hain (L.), *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 4 vols. Stuttgart, 1826-1838, 8vo.
- Mendez (F.), *Tipographia Española, o historia del arte de la imprenta en España*. 2nd Editn. por D. Hidalgo. Madrid, 1861, 8vo.
- Pastor (P.), *La imprenta en Toledo*. Madrid, 1887, 8vo.
- Proctor (R.), *An Index to the early printed books in the British Museum, with notes of those in the Bodleian Library*, 3 vols. and supplements. London, 1898-1906, 8vo.





## INDEX

- ADRIAN, Dean of Louvain, claims the  
  regency from Ximenes, 77  
*Alcabala*, the tax known as, 18  
Alcalá de Henares, 8, 24-28, 40, 71,  
  75, 83  
Alcalá, University of; its foundation,  
  Chap. IV., removal to Madrid, 83  
Alfonso VI., King of Castile, 55  
Aragon, 2, 5  
Aristotle, 53
- BAXTER, Richard, 43  
Bible, Complutensian Polyglot, 5,  
  Chap. IV., critically examined,  
  28-52; variations in existing copies,  
  33-36; census of existing copies,  
  summary of, 51, details Appendix  
  A; Greek type employed, 46-48;  
  Hebrew type employed, 46; value  
  of, 37-38  
Bibliography, of Cardinal Ximenes  
  and of the Complutensian Poly-  
  glot Bible, Appendix B.  
Brocar, Arnald Guillen de, printer,  
  45-49, 59
- CASTILE, 2-3, 5, 66, 71, 77-80  
Catherine of Sienna, Letters of, 49,  
  58, 114  
Cervantes, 4, 25  
Charles V., Emperor, 28, 60, 67,  
  77-83, 103  
Clarke, Dr Adam, 36, 37  
Columbus, 61, 80  
*Comma Johanneum*, controversy as  
  to, 42-44  
Complutum, *vide* Alcalá
- Epistolæ expectativæ*, 9  
Erasmus, 35, 41, 44-45
- FERDINAND of Aragon, 5, 13, 14, 19,  
  25, 60-65, 67, 69-71, 74-77
- GOMEZ, biographer of Ximenes, 34,  
  40, 58-59, 63, 83, 102, 104  
"Gonsalez," *vide* Ximenes  
Gonsalvo de Cordova, 21, 23, 70, 71,  
  75, 77  
Gothic Ritual, 54  
Granada, 2, 19  
Gregory IX., Pope, introduces In-  
  quisition into Spain, 63-64
- HAEBLER, Konrad, 45 (note), 48
- INQUISITION, established in Spain,  
  64; revived and directed against  
  the Jews, 64-65; introduced into  
  the New World, 67  
Isabella of Castile, 5, Chapters II. and  
  III.; 60-61, 65
- JEWES, 27, 64, 65, 87  
Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and  
  Isabella, 60-62, 78
- LEO X., Pope, 30, 31, 34, 39, 41, 47
- MADRID, 37, 40, 78, 83  
Manuscripts, used in preparation of  
  Complutensian Polyglot Bible, 38-  
  41  
Martyr, Peter, historian, 12, 60

- Mendoza, Cardinal, 10, 11, 13-14, 30, 56  
 Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, 19, 22  
 Mendham, Joseph, 37  
 Mexico, The Mozarabic Missal printed in, 58  
 Missal, the Mozarabic, *vide* Mozarabic or Gothic Liturgy, Chap. V.  
 Moors of Africa, Chap. VIII.  
 Moors of Spain, 2-3, their enforced conversion, Chap. III., destruction of their literature, 22, 54  
 Mozarabic, or Gothic Liturgy, Chap. V.; its origin, 54; falls into disuse, 55; revived by Ximenes, 56-58, 113
- NAVARRE, Kingdom of, 2, 80  
 Navarro, Pedro, 71-74  
 New World of America, 61, 67, 80
- ORAN, conquest of, Chap. VII., 110  
 Orteiz, Alphonso, revisor of Mozarabic Liturgy, 56, 57
- PHILIP, Archduke of Austria, 60-63  
 Polyglot Bibles, the other great Polyglots that succeeded the Complutensian, 38  
 Printers of Spain, 45 (note); Brocar, *q.v.*; Hagembach of Toledo, 56, 59; Gysser of Salamanca, 57; Ibarra of Madrid, 58
- ROMAN Liturgy, 54, 55  
 Ruiz, Bishop of Salamanca, 76, 81
- ST AUGUSTINE, 27  
 St Idéfonso, College of, 25, 75; burial place of Ximenes, 83  
 St Isidore, Bishop of Seville, 54, 55  
 St Jerome, 27, 30, 31  
 St Thomas Aquinas, 43  
 Saracens, *vide* Moors of Spain  
 Septuagint, 28, 29
- Seville, 65, 79  
 Spain, in the age of Ximenes, 1-6, 88  
 Stunica (Diego Lopez de Zuniga), 27, 35, 44
- TALavera, Archbishop of Granada, 19, 20  
 Toledo, 10, 54, 55, 56, 82; See of, 9, 13-15, 24, 71, 73, 76; Library of, 53  
 Torrelaguna, birthplace of Ximenes, 7
- VERGARA, Johannes, 7-8, 53  
 Vianelli of Venice, 62, 70, 71  
 Vulgate, 27, 28, 29, 34, 42, 43
- XIMENES, Franciscus de Cisneros, known also as "Gonsalez," birth and parentage, 7; education, 8; claims the benefice of Uzeda, 9; imprisoned, 9; released after six years, becomes Chaplain to Cardinal Mendoza and enters the Franciscan Order, 10; appointed Confessor to Queen Isabella, 12; Provincial of the Franciscan Order in Castile, 12; Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, 14; as a monastic reformer, 13, 15-16; founds the University of Alcalá, 25; selects a staff of scholars to edit the Polyglot Bible, 27; his influence on the progress of the work, Chap. IV.; his restoration of the Mozarabic Liturgy, 53-58; directs the issue of a *Life of Thomas à Becket* and a translation of the *Letters of Saint Catherine of Sienna*, 59; further services to literature, 59, Appendix C; appointed Cardinal, 63; Inquisitor-General of Castile, 63-68; finances and takes command of the expedition against Oran, Chap. VII.; Regent of Castile, Chap. VIII.; selects Madrid as seat of government, 78; institutes a form of militia, 79;

effects reduction of crown pensions, 79-80; efforts for milder treatment of the natives of South America and to prohibit the importation of negro slaves from Africa to America, 81; his opposition to the exploitation of Spain by the Flemish Court, 81-83; his

death, 83; his character and achievements reviewed, 85-89; Handlist of works printed and published by direction of, Appendix C.

ZEGRI, Moorish nobleman, 21  
Zuniga, *vide* Stunica











